THE

RIGHTS

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN ASSERTED

AGAINST THE

CLAIMS OF AMERICA:

BEING AN

ANSWER

TO THE

DECLARATION

OF THE

GENERAL CONGRESS.

THE SIXTH EDITION,

WITH ADDITIONS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE materials upon which the following Pamphlet is formed, were derived from the beſt and moſt inconteſtible authorities. The Author had acceſs to original papers, accurate eſtimates, and authentic diſpatches. He has alſo availed himſelf of the records of both Houſes of Parliament; and he has made it his buſineſs to examine, with attention, ſuch printed tracts as might contribute to throw any light on the ſubject. Upon the whole, more labour and time have been employed on this ſhort diſquiſition, than are generally beſtowed upon fugitive Publications of the ſame kind. The deſign of the Writer has been to extricate the conteſt now ſubſiſting between Great Britain and her Colonies, from the errors of the ignorant, and the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men. As he has rigidly adhered to truth throughout, and to ſuch arguments as naturally ariſe from undoubted facts, he hopes he has attained his object.

AN ANSWER TO THE DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS.

WHEN Independent States take up arms, they endeavour to impreſs the World with a favourable opinion of their own cauſe, and to lay the blame of hoſtilities on the injuſtice of their Opponents. But if Nations, accountable to none for their conduct, deem it neceſſary to reconcile others to their proceedings, the neceſſity is ſtill more urgent with regard to thoſe who, breaking through every political duty, draw their ſwords againſt the State of which they own themſelves the Subjects. The opinions of mankind are invariably oppoſed to ſuch men. Their aſſertions are heard with diſtruſt, their arguments weighed with caution; and, therefore, it is as neceſſary for THEM to ad-

here to truth, in the former, as it is prudent to avoid ſophiſtry in the latter.

This conſideration, however obvious it may appear to others, ſeems to have totally eſcaped the attention of the body of men who lately ſat at Philadelphia under the name of "The General American Congreſs." In a paper publiſhed under the title of "A Declaration by the Repreſentatives of the "United Colonies of North America *," the facts are either wilfully or ignorantly miſrepreſented; and the arguments deduced from premiſes that have no foundation in truth. But, as whatever falls from men who call themſelves the Repreſentatives of a People, muſt fall with ſome degree of weight on the minds of the undiſcerning part of mankind; it becomes, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary to examine briefly the reaſons held forth by the Congreſs to juſtify the rebellion of their conſtituents. On a ſubject ſo trite, arguments advanced by other Writers may ſometimes recur; but novelty is leſs the object of this part of the diſquiſition, than perſpicuity and preciſion.

The Declaration of the Congreſs begins with an involved period, which either contains no meaning, or a meaning not founded on the principles of reaſon. They ſeem to inſinuate, that no body of men, in any Empire, can exerciſe "an unbounded authority

* Vide Appendix.

"over

" over others;" an opinion contrary to fact under every form of Government. No maxim in policy is more univerſally admitted, than that a ſupreme and uncontroulable power muſt exiſt ſomewhere in every State. This ultimate power, though juſtly dreaded and reprobated in the perſon of ONE MAN, is the firſt ſpring in every political Society. The great difference, between the degrees of freedom in various Governments, conſiſts merely in the manner of placing this neceſſary diſcretionary power. In the Britiſh Empire it is veſted, where it is moſt ſafe, in King, Lords, and Commons, under the collective appellation of the Legiſlature. The Legiſlature is another name for the Conſtitution of the State; and, in fact, the State itſelf. The Americans ſtill own themſelves the ſubjects of the State; but if they refuſe obedience to the Laws of the Legiſlature, they play upon words, and are no longer Subjects, but Rebels. In vain have they affirmed that they are the Subjects of the King's prerogative, and not his Subjects in his legiſlative quality; as the King, with regard to his Subjects in general, is to be conſidered only in his executive capacity as the great hereditary Magiſtrate, who carries into effect the laws of the Legiſlature, the only diſcretionary and uncontroulable power in a free State.

The diſcretionary and uncontroulable au-

thority of the Britiſh Legiſlature being granted, their right to tax all the Subjects of the Britiſh Empire can never be denied. Some ill-informed reaſoners in politics have lately ſtarted an obſolete maxim, which has been ſeized with avidity by the Americans, That " the Supreme power cannot take " from any one any part of his property " without his conſent ; " or, in other words, That Repreſentation is inſeparable from Taxation The Coloniſts, ſay they, have no Repreſentatives in Parliament, and therefore Parliament has no right to tax the Coloniſts. Upon this principle, ſcarce one in twenty-five of the people of Great-Britain is repreſented. Out of more than ſeven millions, fewer than three hundred thouſand have an excluſive right to chuſe members of Parliament ; and, therefore, more than three times the number of the Americans have an equal right with them to diſpute the authority of the Legiſlature to ſubject them to taxes. The truth is, Repreſentation never accompanied Taxation in any State. The Romans were a free nation ; yet the Senate, that is, the great body of the Nobility, poſſeſſed the ſole right of taxing the people. In this kingdom, the Houſe of Commons have an excluſive right of modifying and regulating the quantity of public ſupplies, and the manner of laying taxes: but the Commons, by their own authority, cannot enforce the raiſing the

ſupplies

ſupplies they vote. That privilege is inherent in the ſupreme and unaccountable power veſted in the three branches of the Legiſlature united; who are in fact the State, as the virtual Repreſentatives of the whole Empire, and not the delegates of individuals. Why it has been ſo generally received as a maxim, in this country, That Taxation and Repreſentation are inſeparable, requires to be explained. Men, little acquainted with the conſtitution, derived the opinion from their finding, that it is the indiſputable right of the Commons, that all grants of ſubſidies and parliamentary aids ſhould originate in their Houſe. But though they firſt beſtow thoſe ſubſidies and aids, their grants, as has been already obſerved, have no effect without the aſſent of the other two branches of the Legiſlature. The common reaſon given for this excluſive privilege is, That as the ſupplies are raiſed upon the body of the people, the people only ought to have the right of taxing themſelves. This argument would have been concluſive, if the Commons taxed none but thoſe by whoſe ſuffrages they obtained their ſeats in Parliament. But it has appeared, that more than ſeven millions of people, beſides the Peers, who are in poſſeſſion of ſo large a ſhare of property in the kingdom, have no voice in the election of the Members who ſit in the Lower Houſe. The Commons, therefore, and their Conſtituents not being,

the *only* perſons taxed, the former cannot poſſibly have the *only* right of raiſing and modelling the ſupply, from the mere circumſtance of Repreſentation. But if they have it not from Repreſentation, they muſt in fact derive it from the ſupreme and diſcretionary power, which is repoſed in them, in conjunction with the two other branches of the Legiſlature. It appears, upon the whole, that Taxation is the reſult of that diſcretionary power which is placed in the hands of the Legiſlature, and exerted by them for the neceſſary ſupport of the State. To this power the whole Empire muſt ſubmit, and conſequently no one of its ſubjects can claim any exemption.

The Counties Palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, were anciently in the ſame predicament with the Americans, on the article of Taxation. The Earl of Cheſter and the Biſhop of Durham became, by preſcription and immemorial cuſtom, poſſeſſed of a kind of regal juriſdiction, within their reſpective territories. A ſimilar form of Government was eſtabliſhed by King Edward III. in the County of Lancaſter; which was erected firſt into an Earldom, and then into a Dukedom, in the perſon of Henry Plantagenet; whoſe heireſs carried the ſame rights and privileges to John of Gant, that King's fourth ſon, and his poſterity. But though the SUBORDINATE SOVEREIGNS of theſe Counties could pardon treaſons, murders and felonies;

nies; though they appointed all Judges, nominated all Juſtices of the Peace, and, in ſhort, poſſeſſed excluſively the whole internal Government of their ſeveral Counties; their SUBJECTS (if the expreſſion may be uſed) were "always bound by the Acts and Sta-"tutes" * of an Aſſembly, in which they had no Repreſentatives. They were alſo "liable to all payments, rates, and ſub-"ſidies, granted by the Parliament of Eng-"land †."

Thoſe Counties, (it muſt be confeſſed), like the Americans, conſidered their being excluded from having Repreſentatives in an Aſſembly by which they were taxed, a grievance. Accordingly, the Town and County of Cheſter, as far back as the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. petitioned the Legiſlature for the privilege of ſending Members to Parliament; and their requeſt was granted by an expreſs Statute ‡. The County and City of Durham made a ſimilar application, and with the ſame ſucceſs, in the twenty-fifth of Charles II. §. Had the Americans, inſtead of flying to arms, ſubmitted the ſame ſuppoſed grievance, in a peaceable

* Statutes at Large, 34 and 35 of Henry VIII. c. 13.

† Ibid. 25 of Charles II. c. 9.

‡ 34 and 35 of Henry VIII. c. 13.

§ 25 of Charles II. c. 9.

and

and dutiful manner, to the Legiſlature, I can perceive no reaſon why their requeſt ſhould be refuſed. Had they, like the County and City of Cheſter, repreſented, that, "for lack of Knights and Burgeſſes to repreſent them in the High Court of Parliament, they had been oftentimes TOUCHED and GRIEVED with Acts and Statutes made within the ſaid Court, derogatory to their moſt ancient juriſdictions, liberties, and privileges, and prejudicial to their quietneſs, reſt, and peace;" this Country would, I am perſuaded, have no objection to their being repreſented in her Parliament.

But the Colonies, though that circumſtance is only inſinuated in the Declaration, have uniformly affirmed, that granting the ſupremacy of Parliament ſhould extend over the whole Empire, yet that they themſelves have a right to an exemption from Taxes, either by the conceſſions of the Legiſlature, or by charters from the King. It ſeems incompatible with reaſon, ſay they, that the Colonies ſhould have internal Legiſlatures of their own, poſſeſſing the authority of taxation, and that, notwithſtanding, the Britiſh Parliament ſhould retain its power of laying impoſts. The firſt of theſe aſſertions is not founded in truth. The Charters give no exemption from Taxation: on the contrary, ſome of them, for inſtance the Charter of Pennſylvania, expreſs-

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ly ſubjects the inhabitants of that Province to the payment of "ſuch taxes as were "then (in 1680) laid, or ſhould thereafter "be laid on America, by the Parliament "of England." But, had the Charters mentioned an exemption, the Legiſlature, by virtue of its ſupreme, univerſal, and diſcretionary power, can recal any rights they have conferred, when the good of the State renders that meaſure neceſſary. Though the King may give away by Charter a right that militates againſt himſelf, as hereditary Chief Magiſtrate, he cannot authorize, by any deed whatever, an exemption from the general laws of the State. In ſuch a caſe ONE of the THREE branches of the Legiſlature would uſurp the power of the THREE UNITED; a ſoleciſm as great in polity, as it is in mathematics to affirm, that a part is greater than the whole.

It may be neceſſary, perhaps, to make an apology for entering ſo minutely into the argument in favour of the right of Taxation. The Americans themſelves have deſerted that ground They ſpeak no longer as ſubjects. They aſſume the language of rivals, and they act as enemies. The queſtion between them and Great-Britain (for it is no longer between them and Government) conſiſts of dependence or independence, connection or no connection, except on the footing of a Sovereign State. They have already arro-

gated

gated to themſelves all the functions of Sovereignty. They have formed a great deliberative Council. They have taken the whole executive power into their own hands. They have ſtruck a new currency, raiſed armies, appointed generals; and that they have not choſen ANOTHER SOVEREIGN, muſt be aſcribed more to their Republican principles, than to any remains of loyalty for their lawful Prince.

In this ſituation of affairs and opinions, it is matter of little ſurprize, that men, who deny the authority of the State, ſhould load the Legiſlature with opprobrious epithets. The Congreſs accordingly ſtigmatize Parliament with various charges of tyranny, violence, and oppreſſion. Paſſing from this ſtrain of general ſcurrility, they enter into warm encomiums on the anceſtors of their Conſtituents. But they now deviate as much from truth in their applauſe, as they had done before in their cenſure. They affirm, that the anceſtors of the Coloniſts obtained the lands which they have tranſmitted to the preſent race, "without any charge to the "country from which they removed." Their very enemies could not wiſh to meet them on more advantageous ground. The ſums expended upon the various Provinces, ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, for their ordinary ſupport, government, and protection, have been ſo enormous, that, without the authority

ity of inconteſtible vouchers, they could carcely obtain credit *.

But, even granting that the Coloniſts had btained their lands without any charge to he Mother-country, were they capable of eeping thoſe lands without her aſſiſtance? Was it not to defend the Americans, that Great-Britain involved herſelf in the laſt exenſive war? Did not thoſe very "United Provinces," who now pretend to ſet the ower of this Kingdom at defiance, lay hemſelves in the duſt at her feet, to claim er aid and protection againſt a SINGLE Coony? Did they not complain in the ſame bject terms with the Britons of old, "That

* *An Account of what Sums have been granted to the different Provinces in* North America, *as far as it appears from the Eſtimates for the ſupport of the Civil Government of each Province; and alſo what Sums have been granted for the Support of the Provincial Forces in* North America.

	£.	s.	d.
ew-York forces, ——	339,055	16	8
arolina in general ——	43,024	9	10½
eorgia ſettling, and ſecuring that Province	250,853	4	6
—— Military expence of ditto	130,066	18	4½
outh Carolina forces —	101,524	5	6
ova Scotia Civil Government	1,358,240	17	6½
aſt Florida Civil Government —	59,300	0	0
eſt Florida Civil Government —	64,324	13	6
merica in general forces —	172,999	0	0
ewards and compenſations —	1,316,511	1	5
	3,835,900	7	4½

" the

" the Barbarians drove them into the ſea, " and that the ſea drove them back on the " Barbarians?" Did not Great-Britain, like a Guardian Angel, ſtretch forth her hand to their aid; and, by expelling their enemies from the Continent of America, reſcue them, not only from danger, but the very fear of danger? Did ſhe not, over and above the many millions ſhe expended upon the fleets and armies employed in defence of the Colonies, advance more than ONE MILLION to pay THEIR own native forces, employed in THEIR own Cauſe †?

Did not the Mother-country, with more than a mother's fondneſs, upon all occaſions, nouriſh, cheriſh, and ſupport this prodigal child, that left the houſe of his parent, " to " feed on huſks with the ſwine of the de- " ſert?" Has ſhe not (to ſum up the whole in one point of view) uniformly protected the

† GRANTS *in* PARLIAMENT *for Rewards, Encouragement, and Indemnification to the Provinces in* North America *for their Services and Expences during the laſt War.*

Date of Votes.		£.	s.	d.
3 Febr. 1756.	As a free Gift and Reward to the Colonies of New-England, New-York, and Jerſey, for their paſt ſervices, and as an encouragement to them to continue to exert themſelves with vigour, &c.	115,000	—	—

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the Colonies in war, encouraged their produce

Date of Votes.		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	115,000	—	—
19 May, 1757.	For the uſe and relief of the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for ſervices performed and to be performed with the approbation of the Commander in Chief in America, ——	50,000	—	—
1 June, 1758.	To reimburſe the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them in 1756, £. 27,380 19 11½			
	To reimburſe the Province of Connecticut their expences for ditto, £. 13,736 17 7	41,117	17	6½
30 Apr. 1759.	As a compenſation to the reſpective Colonies in North America for the expence of levying, clothing, and pay of the troops raiſed by them, &c.	200,000	—	—
31 Mar. 1760.	Ditto,	200,000	—	—
	To the Colony of New York to reimburſe their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them in 1756. —	2,977	7	8
		609,095	5	2½

duce with bounties in time of peace *, entered into all their quarrels with their neighbours, made their enemies her own; and,

Date of Votes.		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over,	609,095	5	2½
20 Jan. 1761.	As a compensation to the respective Colonies in North America, for the expence of levying, clothing, and pay of the troops raised by them, &c.	200,000	—	—
26 Jan. 1762.	Ditto,	133,333	6	8
15 Mar. 1763.	Ditto, —— —	133,333	6	8
22 Apr. 1770.	To reimburse the Province of New Hampshire their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for the Campaign in 1756. ——	6,009	13	3
		1,081,771	11	9½

* *An Account of Bounties on* American *Commodities.*

	£.	s.	d.
Bounty on Indico from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain —	145,022	3	4½
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772	5,560	8	7½
Bounty on Importation of Naval Stores from America, pursuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, from 1706 to 1729 ——	430,178	4	6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774. ——	1,028,584	7	3

Besides other Bounties granted on
Raw Silk
Pipe Staves
Hogshead Staves
Barrel Staves
Pipe, Hogshead, or Barrel-Heading.

for

for their ſake, has ſhe not, in ſome degree, ſubjected herſelf to an annual tribute to Indian ſavages, in whom habitual injuries had raiſed an irreconcileable hatred to their oppreſſors? Did ſhe not, too fatally, relinquiſh great advantages on every other ſide of a ſucceſsful war, to eradicate the very ſeeds of future conteſts in America; and, by giving the Colonies unlimited ſecurity from ABROAD, procure for them that proſperity at HOME, which has encouraged them, like parricides, to raiſe the dagger againſt her own breaſt?

The Congreſs, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, affect to reprobate the laſt peace, though they have derived ſo many and ſo great advantages from that treaty. The conduct of the Americans ought alſo to induce this Kingdom to regret the ſtipulations ſhe made for their ſecurity. Had Canada remained in the hands of the French, the Colonies would have remained dutiful ſubjects. Their fears for themſelves, in that caſe, would have ſupplied the place of their pretended affection for this Nation. They would have ſpoken more ſparingly of their own reſources, as they might daily ſtand in need of our aid. Their former incapacity of defending themſelves would have always recurred to their minds, as long as the objects of their former terror ſhould continue ſo near their borders. But their habitual fears from France were, it ſeems, removed only to

give room to their ingratitude to Great-Britain.

The effrontery with which the Congreſs reprobate the late Peace, is ſcarcely equal to their folly in applauding the Miniſter who had carried on the war. With peculiar inconſiſtency they affect to commence an æra of "Public Ruin," from Mr. Pitt's reſignation in 1761; yet the whole "object of their "wiſhes" is to be placed on the ſame footing as in the year 1763. They do not recollect, or rather they pretend to forget, that the moſt ſplendid actions in the war happened after Mr. Pitt retired from his office. They are ignorant, or deſignedly conceal, that the commerce of this kingdom has amazingly increaſed, and, in conſequence, its revenue, ſince the æra from which they date public ruin. They know, or they ought, from their own experience, to know, that, notwithſtanding their ſhutting their ports againſt our manufactures, permanent and profitable ſources of commerce have been opened in other quarters; that, inſtead of being diſtreſſed by their preſent interruption to trade, our Merchants find themſelves incapable of fulfilling their commiſſions from foreign ſtates; that, as the ſureſt teſt of the flouriſhing condition of commerce, the courſe of exchange, to the amount of ſeveral *per cents.* is univerſally in favour of Great-Britain; and that, as the ultimate and invincible proof of the public proſperity, the confidence of

the people in the meaſures of Government, and their contempt for the rebellious efforts of the refractory Colonies, the national Stocks ſuffer neither fluctuation nor fall in the price.

Having repreſented the pretended ruin brought upon the Britiſh Empire by the late Peace, the Congreſs deſcend to the fictitious grievances of America ſince the ſame period. They affirm, that "the Colonies "were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate, as to "preſent victories without bloodſhed, and "all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable "plunder." This figure of rhetoric, if it has any meaning, conveys one contrary to the truth. The Coloniſts having obtained ſuch amazing advantages by a Peace, which they now reprobate, it was deemed juſt and proper by Mr. Grenville, then at the head of the Treaſury, that they ſhould bear a proportionable ſhare of the national burdens incurred by the war. But, as their prior inability to bear internal Taxes had precluded him from having a precedent, he only *threw out*, as it is vulgarly expreſſed, in the beginning of the year 1764, his intentions of raiſing a revenue in America by a Stamp-Duty, ſimilar to that eſtabliſhed in Great-Britain, referring the conſideration of the whole affair to the next Seſſion. His object was, to give time to the Colonies to propoſe ſome other mode of Taxation, ſhould that ſuggeſted to Parliament appear either improper or burden-

ſome. During the whole of the ſummer 1764, though ſome diſcontented ſpirits murmured, not a ſingle doubt was ſtarted againſt the ABSOLUTE RIGHT of Parliament to impoſe Taxes on every Member of the Britiſh Empire. The time allowed to the Colonies furniſhed them with no expedient for raiſing a tax more ſuitable to the purpoſe of a Revenue, (which, by the by, was to have been ſpent among themſelves); and, therefore, in the beginning of the year 1765, the famous Stamp-Act was paſſed, againſt a very inconſiderable minority, in both Houſes of Parliament.

In this Kingdom, as well as in every State poſſeſſed of freedom, there are always to be found factious perſons, who oppoſe every meaſure of Government. In their eagerneſs to diſgrace the Miniſter, they too frequently obſtruct the ſervice, and defeat the intereſts of their Country. Every ſide of a ſpeculative point is armed with arguments, that may impoſe on the ignorant, and encourage the ſanguine. The Oppoſition in Parliament, in ſhort, committed themſelves, too far in favour of the prejudices of the Americans, with regard to the Stamp-Act, to ſupport it with vigour, when they themſelves, very unexpectedly *, came into Office, a few months after

* Lord Rockingham and others in Oppoſition came into office July 30, 1765, Grenville and his party having thrown themſelves out of place on the Regency Bill.

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it had paſſed into Law. Though their view of the object changed with their elevation, they found that the flame which their own factious ſpeeches, in the preceding Seſſion, had raiſed in America, was too vehement to be extinguiſhed without either force or conceſſions. A natural timidity of diſpoſition, joined to the common want of firmneſs which accompanies novelty in Office, rendered them inclinable to purchaſe preſent quiet for themſelves, at the expence of the future advantage of their country. But ſtill they wavered on the point of irreſolution, till Mr. Pitt's oratory weighed down the ſcale. The Stamp-Act was repealed; and from that moment may be dated "the commencement of" what the Americans call "an Æra of Public Ruin.

Great-Britain and her Colonies derive their preſent diſpute, and its conſequent misfortunes, from the PATRIOTISM of the motley Junto who formed the appearance of an Adminiſtration, in the end of 1765 and beginning of 1766. Virginia had the MERIT of taking the lead in the diſturbances in America, which ſucceeded the paſſing of the Stamp-Act. It was in the Aſſembly of that Province, that the firſt reſolutions were voted againſt the authority of Parliament, in the firſt Seſſion, after intelligence of the Act was received. Though the meeting was very thin, the Reſolutions paſſed only by a majority of TWO VOTES; and they would have been moſt certainly

tainly rejected, had it not been for the abſence of forty of the old Members. When the Aſſembly was adjourned for the ſeaſon, the people in general were diſſatisfied with the conduct of their repreſentatives. Every one expected, that, at the next meeting, an attempt would be made to eraze the Reſolutions from the Journals. But intelligence arrived, in the mean time, that the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, General Conway, and the reſt of the "illuſtrious band," who had oppoſed the Stamp-Act in Parliament, were, by a ſtrange revolution in politics, received into favour, and raiſed to office; and that Mr. Pitt, then at variance with his wife's relations, was reſolved to oppoſe their FAVOURITE MEASURE, the Stamp-Act. The Virginians, deriving great hopes from this change, adhered to their Reſolutions, and nothing further was done in the matter.

To enter minutely into the various motives of Mr. Pitt's oratory, for the total and abſolute repeal of the Stamp-Act, would be to deſert a great and public ſubject for the ſake of tracing the private paſſions and intereſted views of an ambitious man. In his Argument, if what he advanced deſerves the name, he fell in with the vulgar and, it may be ſaid, falſe maxim, That no profit ought to be expected from the Colonies, but that reſulting from their Commerce. This opinion of Mr. Pitt, whether it proceeded from

ignorance

ignorance or deſign, (and it probably proceeded from both), has formed a popular error in former times, as well as in the preſent age. Many, who have pretended to underſtand perfectly the affairs of this Kingdom, moſt firmly, but in my opinion very weakly, believed, that the great ſecret of our political intereſt conſiſted in forcing, in a manner, a monopoly of foreign commerce. It was from this perſuaſion, that the popular Orator uſed, upon the occaſion juſt mentioned, a figure of rhetoric at once fooliſh and abſurd, when he affirmed, that the Coloniſts ſhould be prohibited "from manufacturing even the hob-nail of a horſe-ſhoe!" One might be tempted to aſk the Orator, how this prohibitory mandate could be enforced; or, if it could, whether it is leſs arbitrary, than to demand an *internal* tax from the Americans, for the ſupport of their own government, and even for the general ſupport of the State, and as a ſuitable return for the protection which they have ever derived from the Government of this kingdom?

The Congreſs had ſurely forgot this ſtrange rhetorical figure of the great Orator, when they were tempted to date PUBLIC RUIN, from his reſignation in 1761. They have alſo forgot, or they do not chuſe to remember, that he acquieſced in the DECLARATORY BILL, brought in and paſſed by the Marquis of Rockingham's Party, who were in office, in the beginning of the year 1766. This

Bill

Bill expreſsly declares, " that all his Majeſty's " Colonies and Plantations in America have " been, are, and of right ought to be, ſub- " ordinate to and dependent upon the Impe- " rial Crown and PARLIAMENT OF GREAT " BRITAIN; who have full power and autho- " rity to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient " validity to bind the Colonies and People of " America, ſubjects of the Crown of Great " Britain, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

Mr. Pitt, to preſerve ſome degree of conſiſtency, objected to the words " IN ALL " CASES WHATSOEVER." But his oppoſition was ſo languid, that he did not attend the Houſe when the Bill was paſſed; and only five Peers were found to follow his opinion, when it came under debate in the Houſe of Lords.

" The Declaratory Act," as the American Congreſs affirms, " comprehends all the griev- " ances of which they complain." Yet that very Congreſs, with peculiar effrontery, not only approve, but even praiſe the conduct of the very Party by whom the Bill was introduced, and the MAN, by whoſe CRIMINAL ACQUIESCENCE (to uſe one of his own phraſes) it paſſed into a law. THAT Party, and THAT MAN, being now in oppoſition to Government, the Americans endeavour to ſecure their ſupport, by flattering their vanity at the expence of truth! They forget paſt demerits in the hopes of preſent ſervices. But when they expect to deceive a whole

Party

Party into their intereſt, they themſelves are made the tools of that Party; and, like the figure of the Negro, near Temple-bar, are turned round by the machine which they pretend to move.

The Congreſs, in a ſtrain of eloquent adulation, ſpeaks with raptures of "that illuſtrious Band of diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners," who now declaim, argue, and proteſt, in favour of their own rebellion. It has appeared, that the Act of which they moſt complain, was the manufacture of that very "illuſtrious Band," encouraged by the negative oppoſition made by the Earl of Chatham, whoſe advice the Band followed, as it ſoon after appeared, to their own political deſtruction. Beſides, was it not under the Adminiſtration of the Earl of Chatham, in the years 1767 and 1768, though the Americans date their misfortunes from the reſignation of Mr. Pitt in October 1761, that the Bills impoſing internal duties, and conſequently eſtabliſhing internal Taxation in America, were paſſed into laws *? Did not the preſent Adminiſtration, whoſe meaſures the Congreſs affect to reprobate throughout, repeal all thoſe Acts, except the duty on Tea †, to gratify the prejudices of the Americans, and, if poſſible, to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in all the Provinces? With what colour of reaſon, therefore, can the Americans lay the

* 7 Geo. III. ch. 46.
† 10 Geo. III.

blame

blame either of their real or pretended grievances on the Noblemen and Gentlemen now in office; and yet approve of the conduct of thoſe very perſons who paſſed the Declaratory Act, and followed it with Bills of impoſts raiſed in the Colonies?

In reprobating the Declaratory Act, the Congreſs recur to their uſual maxim, That Taxation and Repreſentation are inſeparable. Though it has been already ſhewn, that they are as much repreſented as twenty-four in twenty-five of the inhabitants of Great-Britain; though it has been proved, that whole Provinces, not repreſented, had been for ſeveral ages ſubjected to impoſts laid by the Legiſlature; though it ſhall, hereafter, appear that they themſelves have been uniformly taxed by the Britiſh Parliament; this argument they hold forth as invincible, and found upon it their preſent reſiſtance to the ſupremacy of the Parent-kingdom. In purſuing it injudiciouſly and too far, they actually diſcover the expediency, and even neceſſity of that ſupremacy, of which they ſo loudly complain. The Parliament of Great-Britain, ſay they, will certainly perceive, "that a "American revenue, if not diverted from "the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is "raiſed, will actually lighten their own "burdens, in proportion as they increaſe "ours." But is it not equitable, is it not juſt, is it not neceſſary, that all the ſubjects of the empire ſhould bear, as equally as poſſible

poſſible, the public burdens of the empire? Why ſhould the Americans, who have ſo largely, ſo uniformly, and ſo effectually experienced the protection of Government, be the only perſons exempted from paying their ſhare of its expences? Is it either reaſonable or ſuitable to the common uſage of Nations, that thoſe who deſert their country ſhould enjoy greater privileges than thoſe that remain? The Americans, having been ſpared during the infancy of their Colonies on account of their poverty, endeavour to eſtabliſh into an inherent right what was actually an indulgence.

Though this indulgence has been a ſource of error to the more ignorant part of the Americans, there are ſurely many among them who know, that Parliament hath been uniformly accuſtomed to extend its ſupremacy over all the Colonies. In matters of revenue, in commerce, in civil, in all judicial regulations; and, in ſhort, with regard to the general conſtitution of their government, the Provinces of North-America, till taught otherwiſe by a diſappointed Faction in this Kingdom, allowed, that the whole fabric of their polity might be new-modelled and reformed by the ſuperintending power of Parliament. In fact, it has been ſo new-modelled and reformed, whenever abuſes in the Adminiſtration of their Government, under their civil polity, or the general intereſt of the Britiſh Empire, made it neceſſary for Parliament to

interpoſe its authority. Inſtances of this interpoſition, in both caſes, preſent themſelves, in almoſt every volume of the Statutes, from the Reſtoration down to the preſent reign; yet the Americans falſely inſinuate, that it was in the preſent reign the exerciſe of the authority of Parliament (except only in the regulation of trade) firſt commenced.

A brief recital of ſome of thoſe inſtances may throw light on a ſubject, rendered obſcure and perplexed by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the arts of deſigning men. To gain the ears of the Populace, by awakening their ancient jealouſies, the Americans affect to aſcribe the preſent ſyſtem of meaſures to principles of Toryiſm, which, they pretend, prevail in our Councils. But, unfortunately for this part of their plan of deception, it will appear, that moſt of the Acts, which bind America in coercive regulations, were paſſed ſoon after the Revolution; in the reign of the very Prince, who brought about that great event. The WHIG Miniſters of King William, (perceiving that the Colonies, even then, had entertained views of placing themſelves on a ground of independence on Parliament), adviſed their Sovereign, and their advice now ſtands on record, to purſue meaſures, which, in their conſequence, ſhould effectually ſecure their thorough dependence on the Legiſlature of this Kingdom.

In

In conſequence of the advice given by a WHIG Miniſtry to a King who had mounted the throne upon WHIG principles; and alſo upon the fulleſt evidence of the frauds and abuſes committed in the Plantations, in violation of the Act of Navigation; the Act of the 7th and 8th of William III. "for preventing frauds, and regulating abuſes, in the Plantations," was paſſed. By that Act, power was given to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and Cuſtoms in England, "to eſtabliſh ports, and appoint Officers, in the Plantations;" and "thoſe Officers to have the ſame authority for viſiting ſhips and goods, and entering houſes and warehouſes, as was exerciſed by the ſame Officers in England."

All penalties and forfeitures were made recoverable in the Courts at Weſtminſter, or in Courts of Admiralty, in the Plantations; which Courts were then, for the *firſt time*, eſtabliſhed throughout all America. In any action or ſuit concerning his Majeſty's Duties, the offence might be laid in any precinct or diviſion of the Plantations, where the ſame ſhould be alledged to have been committed, at the diſcretion of the Officer or Informer. All laws, by-laws, uſages, and cuſtoms, repugnant to any laws of Great-Britain which relate to the Plantations, or mention the ſame, are declared "illegal, null, and void." Many other reſtrictions, too

tedious to be mentioned, were at the ſame time enacted and impoſed.

But it was not in matters of Trade ONLY, that Parliament, during the reign of King William, ſuperintended and controuled the Colonies. The Coloniſts, it was found, had encouraged Pirates in various places; and no juſtice could be obtained, in THEIR Courts, againſt offenders, whom they openly abetted. To remedy this ſhameful abuſe, a remarkable Act was paſſed in the 11th and 12th of William III. This Act aboliſhed all juriſdiction, in that caſe, in the Courts in the Plantations. The WHOLE power of trying ſuch offences, in the Colonies, was veſted in Commiſſioners, appointed under the Great Seal of England, or Seal of the Admiralty, according to the courſe of the Admiralty, that is to ſay, WITHOUT JURY. The Commiſſioners were alſo empowered to iſſue warrants, in any of the Colonies, for arreſting ſuch Pirates or their acceſſaries. They might, at diſcretion, either try the criminals in America, or ſend them to England to be tried. Should the Governors of any Charter or Proprietary Government refuſe to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners; ſhould any perſon in authority in the Colonies refuſe to pay obedience to the Act; ſuch refuſal, in either caſe, was declared to be forfeiture of the Charter.

An Act paſſed in the 10th and 11th year of the ſame reign, confines the advantage of the Fiſhery of Newfoundland to Britiſh ſhips fitted

fitted out from Great-Britain. The execution of the orders and regulations, reſpecting that Fiſhery, was placed in the hands of the Admirals, in the reſpective harbours; that is to ſay, in the hands of the maſter of the ſhip that ſhould firſt arrive from Great-Britain. The deciſion in all queſtions of civil ſuit is veſted in ſuch Admirals, with appeal to the Commander of the King's ſhips. All criminal offences are to be tried, in any County of England, by the King's Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol delivery.

The opinions of this Nation, concerning the Government of the Colonies, may be collected from the above Acts. The authority of Parliament to bind America, in all caſes whatſoever, and whenever the general intereſt of the whole Empire required it, was never diſputed; and it was often exerted to correct abuſes, and to ſuppreſs the ideas of independence, which began, even then, to be cheriſhed by the Colonies. The ſame principles and the ſame policy were carried down by Parliament through the three ſucceeding reigns of Queen Anne, and of George I. and George II. Early in the firſt of thoſe reigns, the groſſeſt abuſes were committed by the petty Legiſlatures in the Colonies, with reſpect to Coin. The interpoſition of Parliament became neceſſary to correct thoſe abuſes. An Act was paſſed, in the 6th of Queen Anne, for that purpoſe; when the Councils of that Princeſs were guided by Whigs. By this Act

the rates of Foreign Coin, in the Plantations, were aſcertained; and a ſevere puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who ſhould take them at higher rates. The American Trade was placed in the ſame reign under further reſtrictions, by Act of Parliament. Rice and Molaſſes were added to the liſt of enumerated commodities. In the reign of George I. Furs and Copper-ore of the Plantations were ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions.

The Britiſh Parliament confined not to Acts their ſenſe of the undoubted right they poſſeſſed, of controuling the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever. In the Journals of both Houſes, there are many Proceedings which furniſh proofs of their undeviating adherence to the ſame principles. In the year 1702, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for aboliſhing all the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America, and reuniting them to the Crown. In 1705, the Houſe of Lords came to ſeveral Reſolutions on the ſubject of laws enacted in ſeveral of thoſe Governments. They declared thoſe laws to be repugnant to the laws of England, and deſtructive to the Conſtitution. This proceeding was likewiſe followed by a Bill for aboliſhing thoſe Charters.

Theſe Bills, it muſt be confeſſed, were not carried into laws. But they did not fail through any doubt entertained by the Legiſlature againſt their propriety. They were

oſt through a change in the ſituation of thoſe, who brought forward the meaſure. That the opinion of the Legiſlature continued the ſame n this ſubject, is evident; as the ſame propoſition was again taken up in the year 1716; when a WHIG Miniſtry governed the Kingdom.

In the reign of George II. the inſtances of he controuling authority of Parliament over he Colonies, are more numerous and ſtrikng. By an Act of the 2d of George II. cap. 5. ſevere prohibitions and penalties are imoſed and inflicted on ſuch perſons as ſhall cut nd deſtroy white Pine-trees, though ſuch ines are growing within the limits of a Townhip already granted; and theſe penalties are irected to be ſued for and recovered in the Courts of Admiralty. The Merchants of Great-Britain having, in the 5th of the ſame eign, preferred a Petition to Parliament, omplaining of the difficulties they met with n the recovery of debts in the Plantations; an Act was paſſed, which ſubjected all real Eſtates n the Colonies to juſt debts and demands; nd to be aſſets, in the ſame manner as in England, for the ſatisfaction of debts due by bond. The exportation of Hats from any of he Colonies, and even the conveyance of hem by land from one Colony to another, is rohibited, under ſevere penalties, by an Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion.

In the year 1733, the Province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay preſented a Petition to the Houſe

Houſe of Commons, praying that they might be heard by Counſel on the ſubject of Grievances. The chief of theſe was, "That the "Crown had reſtrained their Governour, by "inſtructions, in certain caſes relative to the "iſſue and diſpoſal of Public Money, and the "emiſſion of Paper-Bills of Credit." The Commons, having conſidered the matter, came to a Reſolution, "That the Petition "was frivolous and groundleſs, a high in-"ſult upon his Majeſty's Government, and "tending to SHAKE OFF THE DEPENDENCY "of the ſaid Colony upon this Kingdom, "to which in LAW and RIGHT THEY OUGHT "TO BE SUBJECT." Complaint having, at the ſame time been made to the Houſe, "That the Repreſentatives of that Colony "had CENSURED a perſon for giving evi-"dence before a Committee of the Houſe, "in the caſe of a Bill then depending in Par-"liament," it was reſolved, "That the "paſſing ſuch cenſure was an AUDACIOUS "PROCEEDING, and a high violation of the "privileges of the Houſe." A Committee was accordingly appointed, to enquire who were the abettors of this unwarrantable proceeding.

We may perceive, from the above circumſtance, how jealous Parliament HAVE BEEN of their ſupremacy and uncontroulable authority over the Colonies. Another inſtance muſt carry the proof of this poſition beyond the power of reply. In the year 1740, the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons entered into a conſide-
ration of " the abuſes committed in the Co-
" lonies, in reſpect to the emiſſion of Paper
" Bills of Credit." After a long examina-
tion, they came to various Reſolutions. They
reſolved, " That the Act paſſed in the 6th of
" Queen Anne, aſcertaining the rates of Fo-
" reign Coin in America, had not been duly
" obſerved. That many indirect practices,
" in that reſpect, had been introduced, con-
" trary to the true intent of the Act. That
" an Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his
" Majeſty to require the Governors of his
" Colonies to take effectual meaſures for
" the ſtrict obſervance of the Act of the 6th
" of Queen Anne. That another Addreſs
" ſhould be preſented, requeſting his Ma-
" jeſty to iſſue his Royal Proclamation, to
" ſettle and aſcertain the rates of Foreign
" Gold Coins. That the CREATING and
" iſſuing Bills of Credit, in the Britiſh Co-
" lonies, by virtue of Acts of Aſſembly, had
" fruſtrated the deſign of the Act of the 6th
" of Queen Anne. That an humble Ad-
" dreſs of Thanks ſhould be preſented to his
" Majeſty, for the orders he has already giv-
" en on that head; and, That he ſhould alſo
" be requeſted to require and command the
" Governors of the reſpective Provinces, not
" to give their aſſent to any Act, whereby
" Bills of Credit might be iſſued in lieu of
" Money."

Theſe

Theſe ſpirited Reſolutions of the Commons checked, for ſome time, the abuſes in the emiſſion and circulation of Paper-Money. The New-England Governments, however, did not continue long to pay any regard to ROYAL Inſtructions, though ſupported and enforced by the authority of the Houſe of Commons. The frauds committed awakened again the attention of Parliament. In the 24th of George II. an act was paſſed "to "regulate and reſtrain Paper-bills of Credit "in the Four New-England Governments." The Governors of thoſe Colonies were prohibited, under pain of being removed from their Governments, and for ever rendered incapable of any public office or place of truſt, from aſſenting to any Act, Order, or Vote, for the iſſue of any Paper-bills of Credit; and all ſuch Acts, Orders, or Votes, were declared to be, *ipſo facto*, null and void.

In the year 1741 the Colonies took up the idea of a LAND-BANK, which had proved ſo unſucceſsful in England in the reign of King William. The "American Aſſemblies," it appeared to Parliament, "had PRESUMED "to publiſh a ſcheme for ſupplying a pre-"tended want of a medium in trade, for ſet-"ting up a Bank on land ſecurity, and to "ſolicit ſubſcriptions." To correct this evil, an Act was paſſed in the 14th of George II. "to reſtrain and prevent ſuch unwarrantable "practices; and to extend to America, the

"penalties

" penalties inflicted by a Statute of the 6th " of George I. on perſons guilty of ſuch " practices in theſe kingdoms." They were alſo ſubjected, by the ſame Act, to the penalty and forfeiture ordained by the Statute of Proviſion and PREMUNIRE of the 16th of Richard II.

There are ſeveral other Statutes by which Parliament with equal force aſſert their authority over the Colonies. In ſome of theſe they carry this authority beyond the limits, with which they have hitherto circumſcribed it in this Kingdom. In the 29th of George II. cap. 35. Officers of the Army are empowered to enliſt, in the Colonies, apprentices and indented ſervants. The perſons ſo enliſted were exempted from arreſts in civil actions, where the value of the action exceeds not ten pounds. To theſe ſtriking inſtances of the controuling power of Parliament over the Colonies, may be added the Act of 23d of George II. cap. 29. By that Act, " every perſon erecting or working any " mill or other engine for ſlitting or rolling " iron, or any plating forge or furnace for " making ſteel, is ſubjected to a penalty of " 200 l. to be recovered in any of the Courts " in Weſtminſter-Hall, or in the Court of " Exchequer in Scotland."

The foregoing recital of Statutes binding the Colonies, prior to the preſent reign, of which the Congreſs ſo much complain, is ſufficient to convince the diſpaſſionate, that the

the controuling power of Parliament has been perpetually exerted, and never diſputed. There is hardly any object of Legiſlation in which the laws of this Country have not bound America. The Congreſs, whilſt they affect to diſavow the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Legiſlature, acknowledge that ſupremacy, perhaps through inadvertence, in its utmoſt latitude. They own themſelves the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain; yet it was the Britiſh Legiſlature that placed his Majeſty and his family on the Throne. Were the Colonies repreſented in the Parliament which limited the ſucceſſion of the Crown to the Houſe of Hanover, any more than they were in THAT which laid a paltry duty on tea in the Ports of America? His Majeſty owes his Throne to the Laws of England; and, as King, he can have no ſubject that is not bound by that law.

Taxation has been purpoſely omitted in the above detail. That article, as the great object of conteſt, ought to be ſeparately ſtated. The ſeveral inſtances of the exerciſe of the power of Parliament, in that caſe, ſhall be, therefore, thrown into one point of view. The firſt inſtance of Taxation is the Act of the 12th of Charles II. for granting to the Crown a duty of Tonnage and Poundage. This Act is in point. It directs, that the duties abovementioned "ſhall be payable "upon commodities not only imported into "the realm of England, but alſo into the

"DOMI-

"DOMINIONS THEREUNTO BELONGING." The Colonies are here included in expreſs words. It is true, indeed, that the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage were NOT collected in America. The reaſon was, that the commerce of the Plantations was ſo inconſiderable, that the revenue ariſing from it could not pay the expence of collection.

But whatever might have been the reaſon for NOT collecting the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage in the Colonies, the Law was certainly underſtood to extend to America. In the year 1680, the Aſſembly of the Iſland of Jamaica refuſed "to raiſe levies for the "ſupport of Government." Upon this refuſal, the Lords of the Council made a Minute "to conſer with the Judges upon the "queſtion: Whether the ſubſidies upon the "Tonnage and Poundage upon goods that "may by Law, or ſhall be directly carried "to Jamaica, be not payable, according to "Law, by his Majeſty's ſubjects inhabiting "that Iſland, or trading there, by virtue of "the Acts of Tonnage and Poundage, or "other Acts made in England." Unfortunately it does not appear, whether the conference was ever held; or, if it was actually held, what was the reſult.

The 25th of Charles II. cap. 7. is the next Act that binds America, in point of Taxation. By that Act certain duties are made payable in the Plantations, upon ſugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, log-

wood, fuſtic, and other dying woods, and cocoa-nuts exported to any other place, except England. Theſe Duties continue to be paid to this day.

In the 9th of Queen Anne, an Act was paſſed, impoſing certain Duties on all prize-goods taken in America, and imported into any of the Colonies. Theſe Duties were as follow: "All European goods (wine and "brandy excepted) which have been uſually "ſent to the Plantations, are to pay THERE "ſuch Cuſtoms as are payable for the like "goods imported into the Plantations from "Great-Britain. Other goods taken as "prizes ſhall be liable THERE to ſuch Du-"ties as were payable for the ſame, by any "Act of Aſſembly, in the ſaid Planta-"tions."

To theſe Acts, ſubjecting his Majeſty's ſubjects in America to taxes impoſed by the Britiſh Parliament, ſeveral others may be added. The Act of the 9th of Queen Anne, for eſtabliſhing a Poſt-office. The various Acts paſſed for levying and inforcing the collection of the duty of ſixpence per month, out of Seamen's wages, for the ſupport of Greenwich Hoſpital. All theſe Acts extend to America. They bind the Colonies as well as the Mother-Country. Their authority was never diſputed; and the Taxes impoſed by them have been uniformly raiſed. The Act of the 2d of George II. cap. 7. is ſtill more explicit and deciſive in the words. It requires

the

the payment of the Duties for Greenwich Hoſpital, " by ſeamen belonging to American " ſhips, whether employed upon the high " ſeas, or in any port, harbour, bay, or " creek, within ANY of the Colonies."

It appears from this detail of facts, that the right of Parliament to bind the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, is not a claim founded on mere theory: on the contrary, that the controuling power of the Legiſlature is warranted by conſtant uſage, and uninterrupted practice. That the Declaratory Act, of which the Americans complain, contains no new, no aſſumed powers over the Plantations; and that there is ſcarce any channel of Legiſlation, through which the Britiſh Parliament has NOT exerted its ſupremacy, in as full and ample a manner as it has been exerted over the inhabitants of Great-Britain; and all this prior to the preſent reign, in which the Congreſs place the commencement of " Public " Ruin."

The American Congreſs, with a partiality for themſelves ſcarcely conſiſtent with their deſign of gaining others, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, call the Acts, which were the CONSEQUENCE of the reſiſtance of their conſtituents, the CAUSE of their rebellion. In deſcending to particulars, their firſt complaint is ſtated againſt " the exten- " ſion of the juriſdiction of the Courts of " Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their

" former limits;" by which, they allege, " the ſubject is deprived of his inherent right " of a trial by Jury." The Congreſs ſurely forget, or it is not conſiſtent with their deſign to remember, that the alterations of which they complain were made at the requeſt of their conſtituents. The reaſons aſſigned for this requeſt were, that the Courts of Admiralty eſtabliſhed formerly in the various Provinces, poſſeſſed ſo little dignity, on account of the dependence and poverty of the Judges, that juſtice was either ſacrificed to connexions, or biaſſed by avarice. Beſides that, Appeals to Great-Britain could be ſeldom made, on account of the expence and diſtance. To remedy this evil, the preſent eſtabliſhment of Courts of Admiralty in America was formed. Four great Courts of Vice-Admiralty were erected. The Judges were rendered independent by ample ſalaries. The line of Appeal became ſhort, eaſy, and obvious; and as to trial by Jury, the whole world knows that the Court of Admiralty in England never admitted that mode of trial in CIVIL caſes.

The complaint of the Congreſs, with regard to the Bill for ſhutting the Port of Boſton, is ridiculous as well as unjuſt, as the inhabitants of that place had it in their own power to remove the grievance. The deſtruction of the Eaſt-India Company's tea, at Boſton, is well known to have been the deliberate act of a very great majority of the inhabitants.

bitants. To obtain reparation by the common courſe of law was impoſſible, where the number of the offenders ſcreened them effectually from juſtice. It was a public crime, and the puniſhment ought to have been general. In purſuance of that plan of tenderneſs, which has been fatally loſt on the Americans, the Bill for ſuſpending the trade of Boſton was rendered conditional. A door was left open for an immediate reconciliation, ſhould the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's-Bay make a public grant, for repairing the damage ſuſtained, by a Company of Merchants, through a public outrage. Yet the Congreſs ſtigmatize with the name of injuſtice, a coercive Statute rendered abſolutely neceſſary by the ſhameleſs depredations of the inhabitants of Boſton; and which Statute, they themſelves had it in their power to terminate, in an inſtant, by doing an act of common juſtice.

But why ſhould we expect common juſtice towards others, among a people, who (with regard to the Tea-Act) have been manifeſtly unjuſt to themſelves? It is of the Duty on Tea, the Americans principally complain; yet they ſubmitted to a Duty of 7 l. per Ton, laid on Wines, the Seſſion which immediately preceded the paſſing of the Tea-Act. The Duty on Tea was alſo ſubmitted to in all the Provinces where that commodity had not been uſually introduced by Smuggling. Boſton itſelf, and even Mr. John Hancock (now PRESIDENT

SIDENT of the Congreſs, but formerly a moſt notorious SMUGGLER), originally made no objection to the Act. It was when the Eaſt-India Company, by adopting the plan of ſending Tea to America in their own name, gave the finiſhing blow to Smuggling, that the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-Bay determined to oppoſe the Duty. Prior to the Act for laying the THREE-PENCE Duty on Tea, payable in the Colonies, the Americans actually paid a SHILLING, together with the profit of the Merchant. Formerly all Tea exported to the Plantations went encumbered with a Shilling, paid by the Eaſt-India Company. In other words, the Duty was not drawn back on exportation; ſo that, by the Act, the conſumer is a gainer of a Shilling in every pound of Tea, if to the nine-pence duty we ſhould add commiſſion, inſurance, freight, and profit. Smugglers found themſelves incapable of carrying on their contraband commerce; and they inflamed an ignorant rabble, to ſerve their own intereſt, or to gratify their own revenge.

With equal effrontery, and with ſtill leſs reaſon, the Congreſs exclaim againſt the alteration made in the form of the government of Boſton. With their uſual fallacy in argument the Americans wiſh to eſtabliſh it as a maxim in polity, That Charters granted by the CROWN, can neither be reverſed or altered by the LEGISLATURE. They might as well go at once to the whole ſupremacy; and ſave themſelves

themſelves the trouble of thus ſupporting a cauſe untenable on any other grounds. The three branches of the Legiſlature united make daily alterations in the Conſtitution of Great-Britain; and, if their Supremacy extends over the whole empire, they have the ſame right to alter the conſtitution of the American colonies. If the Americans deny this poſition, all argument is at an end; and they avow an independence, which, in THEIR circumſtances, marks them out for enemies. After all, this alteration, of which the Congreſs affect to complain, is no more than putting the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-Bay on the ſame footing with the other Colonies. They have received in miniature the counterpart of the conſtitution of the Mother-Kingdom; and have THEY a right, or can THEY wiſh, to be more free than the freeſt Nation in the world?

The Act for regulating the Government of Quebec, furniſhes the Congreſs with an ample field for declamation. To inveigh againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power, has been ever a favourite topic with men, who wiſh to profit by the prejudices of the people. Had the Congreſs attended to the general principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, they might have informed themſelves, that his Majeſty, without the interpoſition of the two other branches of the Legiſlature, might have permitted the inhabitants of Canada to remain for ever under French laws.

laws. There is no maxim in the Law of England more generally known, or leſs controverted, than, That in conquered or ceded countries, which have already laws of their own, ſuch laws remain in full force, till they are altered and changed by the Sovereign. Had his Majeſty, therefore, entertained ſuch deſigns as the Congreſs obliquely lay to his charge, why ſhould he call in the aid of the Legiſlature to execute what was already done by the Common Law? The Congreſs will not, ſurely affirm, that the ſyſtem of government, eſtabliſhed by the Legiſlature in Quebec, is ſo arbitrary in itſelf, or ſo fit for the purpoſes of deſpotiſm, as the Conſtitution which ſubſiſted in that Province under the French. Ought they not to conſider, that no other form of government could have been eſtabliſhed, ſo ſuitable to the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, the tenures of their property, and the toleration of their religion, to all which they had an undoubted right by the terms of their Capitulation, and the articles of the ſubſequent Treaty of Peace?

The Oppoſition at HOME, as well as the Patriots ABROAD, have found an extenſive ſubject for pathetic eloquence, in the form of Government now eſtabliſhed by Law in Canada. The FORMER have either very treacherous memories, or they change without any ceremony their opinions with their ſituation. Under the Adminiſtration of the EARL of CHATHAM,

CHATHAM, Mr. Morgan, Lord SHELBURNE's Secretary, was ſent PRIVATELY to America, as Commiſſioner, to ſettle and regulate a new code for the Government of Quebec. The Governor and Chief Juſtice of that Province, if I am not miſtaken, were joined with Morgan in this SECRET, but important commiſſion. The meaſure, it is ſaid, was conſidered by the Board of Trade; it was certainly debated, if not adopted by the Cabinet, as far back as the year 1767, during the plenitude of the Earl of Chatham's power. Lord Camden was Chancellor, and gave his ſanction to regulations MORE ALLIED TO DESPOTISM than thoſe he reprobates at preſent. The Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Shelburne, General Conway, and ſeveral others of "that illuſtrious Band," on whoſe virtues the Americans expatiate with rapture, approved this POPISH, ARBITRARY, TYRANNICAL ſyſtem of Government*: yet all theſe are now true Americans, ſtrenuous Proteſtants, Whigs of the ancient mould, determined aſſertors of public freedom, avowed enemies to OPPRESSION, POPERY, and ARBITRARY POWER!

The Congreſs enumerate, among their complaints againſt the Britiſh Legiſlature, the Reſolution of Parliament to give its due force to an unrepealed Statute paſſed in the

* Lord Rockingham had the *merit* of ſending a *Popiſh* Biſhop to Quebec.

time

time of Henry VIII. It is declared in the Reſolution, that, upon this Statute, treaſons and miſpriſions of treaſon committed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond ſea, ſubject to the Crown of Great-Britain, may be tried in England. Though this Reſolution is conſidered by the Congreſs as a part of the ideal ſyſtem of enſlavement, with which they charge the King and Parliament, it contains no novelty, no uncommon ſtretch of law. A thouſand inſtances of the ſame kind are upon record, long before the preſent diſputes with America began. One inſtance is extremely remarkable; I mean, the tranſactions in the caſe of the Inſurrection in Antigua, in the year 1711. All the proceedings were founded on the Act of Henry VIII. Some of the Inſurgents were ſent to England; they were tried upon that Statute; and that circumſtance has eſtabliſhed a precedent which cannot be controverted. But, had even a new law of this kind been made, what reaſon could the American Congreſs have to complain? Have not the prejudices, inſurrections, and even rebellion of their own countrymen, totally interrupted the common courſe of juſtice over all the vaſt Continent which they inhabit; and ſhall the generality of the crime be admitted a competent excuſe againſt puniſhment?

From condemning the Acts of the Legiſlature, the Congreſs paſs to complaints againſt their Sovereign, as well as his principal ſervants.

vants. They alledge, that the " Americans " have inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged " the Throne for ten years;" yet conceal the reaſon, which was, That their demands, rather than requeſts, were ſuch as the Sovereign could not grant, conſiſtent with the powers veſted in him by the Conſtitution. They complain, that fleets and armies have been ſent to their country, to enforce the coercive laws, enacted by the Legiſlature for the eſtabliſhment of its ſupremacy; yet they paſs over in ſilence the outrages committed by themſelves, which rendered that meaſure neceſſary. Did they not draw the ſword with one hand, when the other was ſtretched forth with Petitions for relief from pretended grievances? Did they not purchaſe arms, ammunition, and artillery, form magazines, enliſt ſoldiers, and prepare, in every reſpect, for rebellion and war, when they affected to ſpeak the language of ſubmiſſion and peace?

All theſe are facts that cannot be controverted. The Congreſs know the truth, but purſue their plan of deception. " They hoped " in vain," they ſay, " for moderation in " their enemies;" yet their own conduct has been one continued ſeries of violence, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Having diſclaimed their allegiance to the Sovereign, diſobeyed the acts of the Legiſlature, deſtroyed the property, and inſulted the perſons of the ſervants of the ſtate, aſſumed the functions of ſovereignty,

and

and ruſhed into actual rebellion; they complain of a want of moderation in Government, for exerting the power veſted in it by the Conſtitution, for reſtoring tranquillity, enforcing legal ſubmiſſion to the laws of the State, and for protecting the injured and puniſhing the guilty.

Throughout the whole of their ſtrange Declaration, the American Congreſs appear to adapt their reaſonings to the weakneſs of the prejudiced, and their facts to the credulity of the ignorant. They affirm, that they have uniformly endeavoured to procure an accommodation with the Mother-Country; yet they reprobate the Reſolution of the Commons, of the 20th of February, which opened a fair channel for agreement. They call the Reſolution "an inſidious manœuvre, calculated to "divide the Americans, and to eſtabliſh a "perpetual auction of taxation, where Colo-"ny ſhould bid againſt Colony, all of them "uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem "their lives; and thus to extort from them, "at the point of the bayonet, the unknown "ſums that ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if "poſſible to gratify Miniſterial rapacity, with "the miſerable indulgence left them of rai-"ing, in their own mode, the preſcribed tri-"bute." We may learn, from this tedious and involved ſentence, how much the Congreſs have profited by the Speeches of Patriotiſm in the Britiſh Parliament. A noted Orator, who ha

has been ſuſpected of having penned the DECLARATORY BILL, (which, the Congreſs alledge, contains the whole maſs of American grievances), uſed almoſt the ſame words in the Houſe of Commons, on the day the Reſolution came under debate. But former demerits have been forgot, in what the American Demagogues fooliſhly conſtrue into preſent ſervices.

To ſhew the nature of the Propoſition which the Congreſs ſtigmatize with the name of an "inſidious manœuvre," ſome previous facts muſt be explained. On the ſecond of February, a Motion was made, in the Houſe of Commons, for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which was ſoon after preſented, with the concurrence of the Lords. In this Addreſs, the two Houſes, having ſtated ſome facts, were induced to declare, that a Rebellion actually exiſted at that time in the Province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay: That this conduct was the more inexcuſable, when it was conſidered with how much temper his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament had acted, in ſupport of the Laws and Conſtitution of Great-Britain: That they were reſolved never ſo far to deſert the truſt repoſed in them, as to relinquiſh ANY PART *of the* SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY *over* ALL *his* MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS, which the law inveſted in his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament: That the conduct of the Americans was ſufficient to

convince them of the neceſſity of this ſupremacy and power: That, however, they had always been, and always ſhould be, ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances, which ſhould be laid before them in a DUTIFUL and CONSTITUTIONAL manner: That they requeſted his Majeſty to take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legiſlature: And that they were reſolved, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport his Majeſty againſt all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the juſt rights of his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament.

In this Addreſs the two Houſes of Parliament, while they held forth the Sword in one hand, evidently tendered the Olive-branch with the other. The Americans themſelves were made the arbiters of their own fate. The choice of war or peace was left in their own hands. But, as the offer of Parliament to liſten to the real grievances of the Coloniſts was deemed too general to form a foundation for an agreement between them and the Mother-Country, the Miniſter, wiſhing to conciliate matters with America, even contrary to the opinion of many friends to this Country, laid before the Houſe of Commons ſome EXPLICIT PROPOSITIONS, which might anſwer that end. Accordingly, on the twentieth of February, the following Propoſitions were introduced

troduced to a Committee of the whole Houſe by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: "That "it is the opinion of this Committee, that "when the Governor, Council, and Aſſem-"bly, or General Court of his Majeſty's "Provinces or Colonies ſhall propoſe to make "proviſion according to their reſpective con-"ditions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for "contributing their proportion to the com-"mon defence; ſuch proportion to be raiſed "under the authority of the General Court, "or General Aſſembly of ſuch Province or "Colony, and diſpoſable by Parliament; "and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for "the ſupport of the Civil Government, and "the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch Pro-"vince or Colony; it will be proper, if ſuch "propoſal ſhall be approved by his Majeſty "in Parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch pro-"viſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear "in reſpect of ſuch Province, or Colony, to "levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, or to "impoſe any further duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, "except only ſuch duties as it may be ex-"pedient to impoſe for the regulation of "Commerce; the nett produce of the duties "laſt-mentioned, to be carried to the account "of ſuch Province, Colony, or Plantation, "reſpectively."

This Reſolution, which was carried by a great majority, plainly marked the ground for a negotiation, and an equitable agreement with the Colonies. It was moderate, com-

prehenſive, and explicit. It named the perſons from whom the propoſals muſt come, and thoſe to whom they were to be made. The end and purpoſe of the Contribution were explained. The appropriation of the expected revenue was ſpecified, and precluded every ſuſpicion of its being miſapplied. Though the offer was conditional, it was plainly concluſive, as long as the Americans themſelves ſhould adhere to the agreement. They had it in their power to tax themſelves, the great point for which they profeſſed to contend; and the only right reſerved by the Legiſlature was, to determine the QUANTUM of the ſupply; and they alone can determine it, as being the ſupreme power, who are the ſole judges of what is neceſſary to ſupport the State. The Propoſition, upon the whole, was AT LEAST as favourable to the pretenſions of the Americans, as to the claims of the Mother-Country. The former, therefore, muſt have accepted the propoſal, had what they held forth to the Public formed the real principles of their oppoſition

The Minority in Parliament, who deemed nothing ſo fatal to their own views, as an agreement with the Americans, upon equitable, and conſequently permanent terms, oppoſed this Propoſition as inſidious in its nature, and for that purpoſe rendered obſcure and perplexed in its language. The American Demagogues, whoſe influence can only exiſt

exiſt in the midſt of anarchy and confuſion, oppoſed it with ſimilar views. The latter, indeed, have approved ſo much of the SENTIMENTS, or rather PROFESSIONS of the former, that they have, in their Declaration, echoed back their very words in Parliament. The argument before went only to the claim of the Americans to be permitted, in their aſſemblies, to ſettle the mode of Taxation. They then demanded an excluſive privilege of fixing the amount or quantum of the ſupply; and now they will give no ſupply at all. But, if neither the mode nor the QUANTUM is to be left in the power of Parliament, what power has Parliament left with regard to the taxing of the Americans? Ought the BRITISH LEGISLATURE to lay HUMBLY the wants of the Public before the PETTY LEGISLATURES of America, and requeſt *their* aid for the general ſupport of Government? What would this be, but the total emancipation of the Colonies from that ſupremacy for which we contend?

The Americans formerly declared themſelves willing to contribute to the exigences and expences of the State, provided the demand ſhould come by requiſition from the King, and not by an immediate exertion of Parliamentary authority. This offer his Majeſty declined with that patriotiſm, which has uniformly marked his OWN meaſures during his reign. Anxious for the happineſs of ALL his ſubjects, he choſe to be the Monarch of

ONE great and free nation, rather than the Sovereign of a number of petty States, weakened by their own diſunion. Had his Majeſty been actuated by thoſe motives of ambition, which are not uncommon among Princes, he would have eagerly cloſed with the offers of the Americans. Inſtead of making himſelf dependent, for the maintenance of his dignity, upon the grants of ONE Aſſembly, he might have extricated himſelf from even the fear of pecuniary difficulties by a proper management of many Aſſemblies. The Repreſentatives of one Province might be gratified into the views of the Crown, from the revenue of another; Britiſh Members might receive the wages of corruption in America; and American Repreſentatives be ſent for the price of their votes to this Kingdom.

But ſucceeding events have demonſtrated, that the Americans were not ſincere, in any one of their declarations, in favour of an amicable accommodation. The Propoſitions, voted on the 20th of February, came up to their own former demands; yet they evaded them, by treating them as inſidious. The truth is, they knew their own demerits towards this Country, and they could not believe, that propoſals ſo highly favourable could have been, on her part, ſincere. One good, however, has reſulted from the Propoſitions. The Colonies, by rejecting them, have left no doubt remaining concerning their real intentions. They confine no longer

their

their claims to the excluſive privilege of taxing themſelves. They aim, evidently, at a total independence in all matters whatſoever; and more particularly with regard to the Act of Navigation. They have long made ſecret but moſt dangerous encroachments on this PALLADIUM of our Commerce. They now publickly avow their reſolution to pay no regard to any Parliamentary reſtrictions, whether ancient or recent, on THEIR Commerce. They now openly trade all over Europe; and the obtaining the privilege, which they have, at length, uſurped, has been the primary cauſe of their reſiſtance to Parliament. The manufacturers and merchants of this Country have been long no ſtrangers to this American policy; yet the Congreſs have the effrontery to expect, that the mercantile intereſt of Great-Britain will eſpouſe their cauſe.

The American Congreſs, having in a looſe, curſory, and ſuperficial manner, advanced ſome pretended arguments to juſtify their rebellion, deſcend to the miſrepreſentation of facts, with the ſame deſign. They affirm, "That General Gage, who had occupied "Boſton as a garriſon, ſent out a large de-"tachment of his army, on the 19th of April, "who made an unprovoked aſſault on the "inhabitants of the Province of Boſton, at "Lexington." On this allegation of the Congreſs it may be remarked, that the rebellious conduct of the Town of Boſton, where all

all the authority of legal government had been long extinguiſhed by the tyranny of a rabble inſtigated by factious leaders, had rendered a force neceſſary in that place, to reſtore order and tranquillity, to protect the innocent, and to reſtrain the exceſſes of the turbulent and guilty. That the military preparations made in all parts of the Province, and eſpecially at the Town of Concord, with the avowed intention of oppoſing all legal authority, induced and even forced General Gage (though fatally too late) to ſend out a detachment of the troops under his command, to prevent hoſtilities, by ſeizing the means of carrying them on. That ſome of the inhabitants of the Province, in "warlike array," ſtood in the way of this detachment, with arms in their hands; and that when ordered to remove in a peaceable manner, they made "an unprovoked aſſault" on his Majeſty's troops, by firing FIRST upon them, and killing ſome, and wounding many.

The audacity of the Congreſs, in aſſerting FALSEHOODS, demands a brief detail of the TRUTH. General Gage, having been informed that arms, ammunition, cannon, and other implements of war, had been collected in the town of Concord, ordered a detachment of the Army to march with all poſſible ſecrecy to that place. He gave orders to the detachment, to obſerve the moſt ſtrict diſcipline, and to reſent no inſults offered them by the country people, except actual hoſtilities. The

General's

General's orders were, in truth, too implicitly obſerved. There was not one LOADED MUSQUET in the whole detachment, except thoſe in the hands of FIFTY Marines, who formed the van, when they were FIRED upon, by the country people, at Lexington. The affidavits of the rebels, on this ſubject, are impoſitions and perjuries. There is not a man, whether officer or ſoldier, in the whole detachment, conſiſting of 800 men, but is ready, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to atteſt the truth of this fact.

It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of the inſurgents, that their BARBAROUS CRUELTY to the wounded ſoldiers, were more problematical than their firing FIRST on the King's troops. The ſoldiers who fell by the firſt fire of the rebels, were found ſcalped, when the detachment returned from Concord to Lexington Bridge. Two ſoldiers who lay wounded on the field, and had been ſcalped by the ſavage Provincials, were ſtill breathing. They appeared, by the traces of blood, to have rolled in the agonies of this horrid ſpecies of death, ſeveral yards from the place where they had been ſcalped Near theſe unfortunate men, another dreadful object preſented itſelf. A ſoldier who had been ſlightly wounded, appeared with his eyes torn out of their ſockets, by the barbarous mode of GOUGING, a word and practice peculiar to the Americans. Humanity forbids us to dwell longer on this

ſcene

ſcene of horror. The rebels, to break the force of accuſation, began to recriminate. They laid ſeveral inſtances of wanton cruelty to the charge of the troops; yet nothing is better aſcertained, than that not one of the ſoldiers ever quitted the road, either upon their march or return from Concord.

The Congreſs ſtigmatize the expedition to Lexington and Concord, with the epithets of "an unprovoked and wanton aſſault." Was the collecting warlike implements at Concord, raiſing men throughout the Province, diſciplining troops in every diſtrict, forming magazines, purchaſing ammunition, and preparing arms, no provocation? Were not the whole Country aſſembled before they knew of this expedition? And was not their being ſo completely provided with the means of repelling hoſtilities, a ſufficient proof, that they had previouſly reſolved to commence them? Could TEN THOUSAND men, the number that attacked (though at a PRUDENT diſtance) the troops on their retreat, have been collected by accident, or called together by a ſudden alarm? Are not the Congreſs conſcious to themſelves, and was not General Gage ſufficiently apprized, that the people of Maſſachuſett's-Bay had determined to begin hoſtilities, had the expedition to Concord never happened? The truth is, the march of the troops had only haſtened the execution of the plan of rebellion ſettled before in the ſecret Councils of the Provincial Congreſs.

The

The aſſertions of the Congreſs concerning ranſactions within the town of Boſton, are s utterly devoid of truth, as their account of what happened in the country. The hoſtile ntentions of thoſe WITHIN, were as apparent s the rebellion of their brethren WITHOUT was ertain. The great law of ſelf-defence muſt herefore have juſtified General Gage for ha- ing deprived the former of arms, which they lmoſt avowedly intended to raiſe againſt all egal authority. After the ſkirmiſh at Lexing- on and Concord, all ſupplies from the coun- y were cut off from the town of Boſton. lany of the inhabitants deſired to remove, ith their effects. Their requeſt was grant- d; but it was at the ſame time demanded, hat they ſhould deliver up their arms. This as, at firſt, approved by all; but great cla- ours ſoon after followed. Such of the inha- tants as were well affected, or pretended to well affected to Government, alledged, at none but the ill-inclined ſhewed any de- e to remove; and that when they ſhould come ſafe with their effects, the town would ſet on fire. A great demur having alſo iſen about the meaning of the word EFFECTS, hether MERCHANDISE was included; and the eneral being likewiſe ſenſible, that the per- itting articles of that kind to be carried to e rebels, might ſtrengthen them in their re- ance; he retained the goods. But they e ſtill ſafely kept for the owners, ſhould they either

either continue faithful, or ſeize his Majeſty's
mercy, and return to their duty.

The next paragraph of the Declaration, a
it is not ſupported by truth, is addreſſed t
the paſſions. The Congreſs complain, wit
an attempt at the pathos, " of the ſeparatio
" of wives from their huſbands, childre
" from their parents, and the aged and ſic
" from their relations and friends." But i
it not notorious to the whole world, that thi
SEPARATION, which the Congreſs affect t
lament, was the neceſſary conſequence of th
rebellion of their countrymen? Did they n
ſurround the town of Boſton, with an arm
force, with the avowed intention of deſtro
ing his Majeſty's forces, Generals, and G
vernor? And were the gates to be left ope
" to let ruin enter?" as one of their ow
writers expreſſes himſelf. Have the people o
Boſton ſuffered more hardſhips than the inha
bitants of beſieged towns uſually ſuffer? Ha
they not even ſuffered fewer reſtraints tha
men in their ſituation had reaſon to expect
Was not Dr. Warren, the Chairman of th
Provincial Congreſs, a notorious abettor o
the inſurrection, a nominal General in
rebel army, permitted to come into Boſto
under pretence of viſiting a ſick friend, o
the day preceding the action on Bunker's-hil
where he was killed in arms againſt his Kin
and Country? Is this a mark of thoſe cru
reſtraints, thoſe melancholy ſeparations, o

which

which the Congreſs complain? But THEIR buſineſs is to engage the paſſions, where they can make no impreſſion with their arguments.

In the next paragraph of their Declaration, the Congreſs, with their uſual want of impartiality and fairneſs, mention the CONSEQUENCES of their own rebellion, as the cauſe of their taking up arms. They obſerve, that General Gage iſſued a Proclamation, "declaring all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-"Bay rebels, ſuſpending the courſe of the "Common Law, and publiſhing inſtead there-"of the uſe and exerciſe of the Law Mar-"tial *." But, did he declare them rebels till they had attacked his Majeſty's troops, ſeized his forts and garriſons, beſieged his army in the capital of the Province, and not only interrupted the common courſe of juſtice, but even totally annihilated all legal authority? It is with peculiar effrontery, that the Congreſs number the ſuſpenſion of the common courſe of juſtice among their grievances, after all law and order had been trodden under foot by their own countrymen.

With the ſame degree of arrogant folly the Congreſs complain, that "their countrymen "were killed on Bunker's-hill, that Charles-"town was burnt to the ground, that their "ſhips and veſſels have been ſeized, that

* This he was authoriſed to do, as civil Governor, by a law paſſed in the province, many years ago.

" their ſupplies of proviſions have been in-
" tercepted, that General Carleton is inſti-
" gating the Canadians and Indians againſt
" them, and that domeſtic enemies are en-
" couraged to attack them." All theſe things may certainly have happened; but have they not happened in conſequence of their own rebellion? Have *they* a right to attack others, and have others no right to defend themſelves? Do the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-Bay think, that as they have broken through all the ties that bind the ſubject to the Sovereign, the law of nature and of nations ought alſo to be ſuſpended to gratify *their* ambition, to flatter *their* folly, and favour *their* extravagant ſchemes of independence? To the above imaginary catalogue of American grievances, may be oppoſed the juſt complaints of Great-Britain. Have not the rebels carried their hoſtilities to every corner againſt the Parent-State, that firſt gave them exiſtence, and reared them to proſperity? Have they not attacked her troops at Lexington and at Concord, fired upon Boſton, burnt the Light-houſe, taken Ticonderago and Crown Point, and even penetrated into Canada? And have they not uſed every artifice to inſtigate the Savages to make war on their Sovereign and Mother-Country? Almoſt all theſe injuries preceded the juſt exertions of this Kingdom to puniſh their rebellion.

The

The concluſion of the Declaration, though laboured, contains nothing but empty declamation, and therefore merits little notice. The ſame diſregard to truth, or rather the ſame attention to miſrepreſentation, which diſtinguiſhes the reſt of that ſtrange compoſition, is carried down to the end. They alledge, "that they are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an UNCONDITIONAL ſubmiſſion to tyranny, or reſiſtance by force." The Congreſs ſurely forget, or it ſuits THEIR purpoſe to paſs over in ſilence, the favourable (perhaps too favourable) conditions offered to them, by the Reſolution of the Commons, in the month of February laſt. The terms touched in that Reſolution were ſo obviouſly advantageous to America, that the Oppoſition in Parliament declared them INSIDIOUS; or, in other words, "too good to be ſincere." An amicable ſettlement had ceaſed to have been an object with the Demagogues ABROAD; and it would have ruined the ſchemes of the faction at HOME. The FORMER derived their influence, conſequence, and power, from anarchy and confuſion: THEY could exiſt only in a ſtorm; the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity muſt have reduced THEM to their original inſignificance; and as for the LATTER, rendered deſperate by diſappointed ambition, they would not heſitate to ruin their Country, to procure the fall of their rivals.

Such being the ſtate of opinions among the leaders of Faction on both ſides of the Atlantic, " reſiſtance by force became naturally " the choice of the Congreſs." To deceive an unhappy people, over whoſe minds they had eſtabliſhed a temporary dominion, they boaſt of " their perfect union, and their great " INTERNAL reſources; and that foreign aſ- " ſiſtance is attainable." As to the firſt, we have no reaſon to give it implicit credit. The ſhew of unanimity, which now ſubſiſts in America, appears, from undoubted information, to be the effect of fear, more than any love for the deſperate cauſe of the rebels. Men of property are, from intereſt, enemies to confuſion; and the intelligent, foreſeeing the inevitable iſſue of hoſtilities againſt the invincible power of a mighty Empire, are averſe to a conteſt, that, on the ſide of the Americans, muſt terminate in ruin. But BOTH are terrified into ſilence by the tyranny of a miſled rabble; or their STILL VOICE is drowned in the clamours of Faction and tumult of Party.

The INTERNAL RESOURCES of the Americans are as problematical, as their unanimity in rebellion. Conſiſt theſe mighty reſources in a wretched Paper-currency*, eſtabliſhed on no

* Theſe PAPER-RESOURCES have been very liberally exerted by the Coloniſts, in the courſe of the year 1775. Beſides the ſums voted by the General Congreſs, the Provincial Congreſſes have granted large ſubſidies, for ſupporting their reſpective oppoſition to Great-Britain. By the moſt authentic accounts, the following

no oſtenſible fund of credit; and voted by an illegal Aſſembly, whoſe authority is feeble, on account of its novelty, and tranſitory, as it ariſes from temporary prejudices? Should force, or even folly, ſtamp a domeſtic value on the *paſteboard* dollars of the Congreſs, what foreign nation will receive them for its manufactures and commodities? Are the Americans themſelves capable of furniſhing all the great implements neceſſary for the proſecution of war? Can they ſupply their armies with tents, with powder, with cannon, or with muſquets? Is any one of theſe articles manufactured in a ſufficient quantity in America? And how can they be procured in Europe, with the wretched currency of the General Congreſs?

The Coloniſts, had not reaſon been warped by prejudice in every part of their conduct, might have foreſeen, that their commencing a

following Colonies have raiſed the ſums annexed to each.

	Currency.		*Sterling.*
Georgia - - - - - - - - - -			£. 10,000
South-Carolina, -	£. 1,000,000	or	150,000
North-Carolina - -	50,000	or	30,000
Virginia - - - - -	350,000	or	280,000
Maryland - - - -	100,000		
Rhode-Iſland - - -	100,000	or	75,000

I have not been able to obtain any authentic Intelligence concerning the ſums raiſed in the other Colonies. I may venture, however, to affirm, that the rebellious Provinces have raiſed, in the courſe of this year, a ſum equal to the amount of their whole taxes (Provincial as well as Parliamentary) in SEVEN YEARS.

war deprived them inſtantly of the reſources for carrying it on. Their whole Coaſt is lined, it is to be hoped, at this very moment, with our ſhips of war, to put a total ſtop to their Commerce. They have, therefore, loſt at one ſtroke their whole trade in Corn and Rice, with Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; which, at a moderate computation, brought annually One Million Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds to North America. They have loſt the ſupplying our own Weſt-India Iſlands, as well as thoſe of other nations, with proviſions; a branch of Commerce eſtimated little ſhort of a Million annually. They have loſt their Fiſhery, an article too great for computation; and they have loſt the exportation to Great-Britain of commodities which would not have anſwered in any other market, had the ſea remained open to their Navigation.

But if the Americans have little reaſon to depend on DOMESTIC RESOURCES, they have ſtill leſs to hope from FOREIGN AID. Will France, in the preſent ſtate of her finances, involve herſelf in a ruinous and expenſive war, to gratify the revenge of a Faction in this Country, or to favour the ambition of Demagogues beyond the Atlantic? Will Spain give her aſſiſtance to raiſe an INDEPENDENT EMPIRE in America? Will ſhe encourage her own American ſubjects to riſe againſt her authority, by abetting the rebellion of the American ſubjects of Great-Britain? Can either

either branch of the Houſe of Bourbon be ſo blind to its own intereſt, as to wiſh to ſee a Sovereign State erected ſo near its ſettlements, which, from their proximity, their produce, and their wealth, muſt, in ſuch a caſe, become objects of invaſion, depredation, and conqueſt? What has either France or Spain to fear from THIS KINGDOM, whoſe intereſt conſiſts ſolely in preſerving what ſhe has already acquired? But have not BOTH every thing to fear, ſhould a new Sovereignty ſtart up in America, in which a want of reſources would, in ſome degree, juſtify the providing itſelf at the expence of wealthy neighbours?

Having endeavoured to terrify Great-Britain with their DOMESTIC reſources and FOREIGN aids; the Congreſs thinking, perhaps, they had gone too far, conclude with aſſurances, that "they have not YET determined to diſſolve their union with the Mother-Country." But that UNION, it appears from the ſequel, muſt not be conſtrued into SUBORDINATION, on the part of the Americans. The general ſupremacy of the Legiſlature, which, by pervading the whole Britiſh Empire, renders it ONE State, muſt not, it ſeems, croſs the Atlantic, but in ſuch proportions as may ſuit the inclinations of the Congreſs. "THEY have taken up arms," as they openly avow, "againſt that Supremacy;" and "THEY will not lay them down till hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of Great-Britain."

" tain." This is the Ultimatum offered by the Congreſs: Withdraw your armies, recal your fleets, and you may have peace from the Americans; for, as " they fight not for con-" queſt," they do not YET mean to transfer hoſtilities into the heart of theſe kingdoms!

The haughty Monarch, who dreamt of univerſal monarchy in the laſt century, could ſcarcely have expreſſed himſelf in more inſolent terms to the petty Princes ſurrounding his dominions, than the Congreſs have done to the powerful Empire to which they owe the allegiance of ſubjects. Some allowance ought to be made for THEIR ignorance, and a great deal for the petulance of men new to conſequence and authority; but, even in that caſe, the inſolence of the Declaration is calculated to raiſe indignation, as well as contempt. The Congreſs, however, are only the echoes of a deſperate Faction in this Kingdom, who have uniformly, in their public exhibitions, degraded the ſtrength, power, and authority of Great-Britain, to exalt America on the ruins. With an effrontery without example in any other age or nation, THESE MEN aſſume the name of Patriots, yet lay the honour, dignity, and reputation of their Country, under the feet of her rebellious ſubjects. With a peculiar refinement on Parricide, they bind the hands of the MOTHER, while they plant a dagger in thoſe of the DAUGHTER, to ſtab her to the heart; and, to finiſh the horrid picture, they ſmile at the

miſchief.

miſchief they have done, and look round to the ſpectators for applauſe.

It appears, upon the whole, that the Declaration, which ought to contain all the argument in favour of the Americans, contains, in fact, nothing that does not militate againſt their cauſe. The right of taxing all the ſubjects of the Empire, for the general ſupport of the State, is a part of that Supremacy, which the firſt principles of the Conſtitution have veſted in the Britiſh Legiſlature. This Supremacy has been exerted by Parliament, and admitted by the Americans, ever ſince their anceſtors migrated from theſe kingdoms. If they now deny it, by that very act they ceaſe to be ſubjects, and become rebels. But granting, for the ſake of argument, that Taxation is no part of the ſupremacy of Parliament, the very conduct of the Americans not only juſtifies, but even renders it abſolutely neceſſary, that a precedent ſhould be made. They own, "that their internal reſources are great." The inability of contributing to the neceſſities of a State, from whom they have derived their origin, their ſupport, their protection, and their proſperity, is no longer a pretence; and, if they will give no revenue as ſubjects, they owe a debt as allies. They affect to maintain armies by land; they threaten to ſend fleets to ſea; they alledge, that their reſources are capable of ſupporting a rebellion againſt the Mother-Country; yet they juſtify that rebellion by the demand made by the Mother-Country,

Country, for their bearing a part of their own FUTURE EXPENCES.

That the FORMER expences of America have drawn from Great-Britain an incredible treaſure, may be ſeen from the following authentic eſtimate. We ſhall begin this eſtimate with the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms

	£.	s.	d.
From the year 1714 to the year 1775, the money voted by Parliament, for the forces employed in defence of the Colonies, amounts to - - -	8,779,925	3	11½
Grants in Parliament, for rewards, encouragement, and indemnification to the Americans, during the laſt war, - -	1,081,771	11	9½
Bounties on American commodities to the end of 1774, - -	1,609,345	3	9½
Sums, granted to the Colonies, for the ſupport of their Civil Government and Provincial Forces, - - - - -	3,835,900	7	4½
Extraordinary expences for forts, garriſons, ordnance ſtores, tranſports, carriages, proviſions, may be eſtimated equal to the expences of the forces,	8,779,925	3	11½
Expences of fleets and naval ſtations, employed and eſtabliſhed in America for its defence, may be eſtimated at - -	10,000,000	00	00
Annual preſents to the American Indians, for abſtaining from hoſtilities againſt the Colonies, and for the ceſſion of lands, -	610,000	00	00
	34,697,142	10	10½

To

To this amazing ſum might be added, by implication, the other expences of the two laſt wars. The FORMER of thoſe wars was undertaken for the protection of the American Commerce, or rather American SMUGGLING, to the Spaniſh Colonies. We entered into the LATTER for the defence of the Coloniſts; we carried it on for their ſecurity; and terminated it for their SOLE advantage. The two laſt Wars have coſt this Country, at a moderate computation, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS. To this extraordinary waſte of treaſure, what have the Colonies to oppoſe to balance the account? Is it a languid Commerce, which ſcarcely makes its returns once in three years?

We have heard much (indeed, a great deal too much) of this Commerce from factious men on both ſides of the Atlantic. This is the mighty engine which they wield over the heads of the ignorant; the great bugbear with which they terrify the timid. To eſtimate the value of the American trade with any degree of preciſion, is impoſſible. The accounts kept in the Cuſtom-houſe are no authorities. When exports pay no duty, a door is opened to falſe entries. The vanity of ſome Merchants, the intereſt of others, too frequently induce them to magnify, beyond meaſure, the quantity of their export trade. Beſides, the mercantile abettors of American reſiſtance thought they ſerved the Colonies,

Colonies, whilſt they gratified their own private views. We may conclude, that the Commerce with North-America has been greatly over-rated, as the TOTAL Loss of it has NOT affected this Kingdom. We ought, perhaps, to aſcribe to ITS INSIGNIFICANCE what we are taught to attribute to an INCREASE in other channels of trade.

Like all monopolies, the Commerce with North-America, ſuch as it has been, was much more profitable to the Merchant, than advantageous to the Manufacturer. One-third of this commerce with any ſtate in Europe (from which the returns are annual) would have brought equal profit to the manufacturer, and would have enabled him to employ an equal number of hands. Political impoſtors will not fail to advance magnificent fictions on this head, and the ignorant cannot ceaſe to give them credit. On a ſubject where proofs are ſo difficult to be obtained, one may hazard a conjecture. The money expended by this Nation upon America, for the PROTECTION of HER inhabitants and the ENCOURAGEMENT of HER Commerce, would have been more than ſufficient to purchaſe ALL the manufactures ever exported from Great-Britain to the Colonies now in rebellion. I mean not to include, in this conjectural eſtimate, any ſums expended by us in any OTHER part of the world during the two laſt (truly American) Wars.

The

The Americans, with a degree of folly carce excuſable in the moſt conſummate gnorance, claim a merit with Great-Britain, or the revenue ariſing from impoſts laid upn ſome of their commodities in THIS Kingom. The chief of theſe are Rice and Tobacco. The Revenue ariſing from Rice is ſo ſignificant that it ſcarce deſerves to be menoned. It never amounted, at the higheſt omputation, to ten thouſand pounds in any ne year. Tobacco, when re-exported, pays o duty; and it is a matter of great doubt, hether the frauds committed in the drawacks may not nearly balance the oſtenſible evenue ariſing to the ſtate from the home nſumption.

But, granting a great Revenue ſhould ariſe om Rice and Tobacco to the State, what vour do we owe to our Colonies on that ead? That Revenue is paid by OURSELVES. he Tax is on the Conſumer, and not upon e Planter. Should Siberia ſupply us with ice and Tobacco, the price would not probly be greater to the Conſumer, nor the evenue leſs to the State. If the Americans im any merit from thoſe Taxes, what do E NOT owe to the Emperor of China? he Revenue from Tea is much more conderable than that from Rice and Tobacco. Congreſs at Pekin might accuſe us of ingratitude on this ſubject, with as much juſce as the Aſſembly lately ſitting at Philaphia.

It is evident, from the above ſtate of facts that the Colonies have no claim to an exemption from Taxation, on account of any advantage that has accrued to this country from their commerce. But Taxation has now ceaſed to be any part of the diſpute. It goes to the whole authority of the Mother-Country. The Americans offer no longer the very name of Obedience. But why ſhould I ſpeak of Obedience? This VERY CONGRESS, whoſe Declaration is the ſubject of this diſquiſition, have paſſed a VOTE OF INDEPENDENCE.* They have long acted as rebels, they NOW affect to contend as enemies. Their abettors in this kingdom are no ſtrangers to this circumſtance; yet they dignify avowed rebellion with the title of "A GLORIOUS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM."

Such is the conduct of the Americans, to which that of Great Britain has all along

* When this Vote was carried, the Provinces ſtood as follows:

For Independence.	*Againſt it.*
Maſſachuſet's Bay	New York
Connecticut	New Jerſey
New Hampſhire	Lower Counties
Pennſylvania	North Carolina
Virginia	Maryland.
South Carolina	
Rhode Iſland.	

This was the State of the Vote, on the firſt day. But, on the ſecond day, Mr. Dickenſon, AFTER REFLECTION ON HIS PILLOW, retracted, and carried with the Pennſylvania Delegates. There being then an equality of voices, the queſtion *went off*, for the time, and

form

formed a ſtriking contraſt. With the indulgence and patience of a Parent, ſhe ſoothed, flattered, and even courted them to a reconciliation. In pity to the weakneſs, in condeſcenſion to the folly, in conſideration to the prejudices of a froward child, ſhe held out the olive-branch, when ſhe ought, perhaps, to have ſtretched forth the rod of correction. Her pity, her kindneſs, and affection, were loſt upon the Americans. They advanced rapidly from claim to claim, and conſtrued her forbearance into timidity. Each Act that was repealed furniſhed a ſubject for triumph, and not an object for gratitude. Each conceſſion became the foundation of ſome new demand, till, at length, by aſſuming all to themſelves by rebellion, they left the Mother-Country nothing to beſtow.

In this ſituation of affairs, Great-Britain muſt purſue one of two lines of conduct, with regard to her refractory Colonies. She muſt either put up with the loſs of ALL her expence, and emancipate them for ever, or reduce them to that ſtate of dependence which ſubjects owe to the ſupreme authority in every Empire. As the latter line muſt of neceſſity be purſued, it ought to be purſued with a mixture of ſpirit and prudence. To be in every reſpect in a condition to force equitable terms, is the beſt ſecurity for their being voluntarily offered. But ſhould terms be offered by the rebels, the RIGHTS of THIS COUNTRY muſt be more regarded in the accommoda-

tion, than the CLAIMS of AMERICA. To permit the Colonies to GAIN by one rebellion, is to ſow the ſeeds of another. But if the Colonies, as communities, are not permitted to *gain* by their refractory conduct, I am far from wiſhing that individuals ſhould *loſe* any part of their rights as Britiſh ſubjects.

To propoſe a plan to the Americans, in their preſent political frenzy, would be to ſpeak to the winds. To make them *leſs* free than the other ſubjects of the State, can never be the *deſign* of this Country. To obtain *greater* privileges, can ſcarcely be their own *deſign*. If they are not madly bent on independence, let them propoſe the conditions on which they wiſh to continue ſubjects. But if they are to continue ſubjects, they muſt perform their duty as ſuch, and contribute toward the expence of the State, for the general protection. The Legiſlature of this Kingdom cannot poſſibly relinquiſh any part of its ſupremacy over the Colonies; but it is in the power of the Colonies to ſhare in that ſupremacy. If they complain of being taxed without having the privilege of ſending Members to Parliament, let them be repreſented. Nay more: let their repreſentation increaſe in proportion to the Revenue they ſhall furniſh. If they wiſh rather to vote their QUOTA towards the general ſupply, through their own General Courts and Aſſemblies, the reſolution of Parliament on that ſubject is ſtill open to their choice.

But

But as long as they aſſume the language of a Sovereign State, this Kingdom can enter into no negotiation, can meet no compromiſe. Nations, as well as individuals, have a character, a certain dignity, which they muſt preſerve at the riſque of their exiſtence. Great-Britain has obeyed the dictates of humanity beyond the limits preſcribed by her reputation. To tempt her further is full of peril, as her indignation begins to riſe. She has long had reaſon to complain of American ingratitude; and ſhe will not bear longer with American injuſtice. The dangerous reſentment of a great people is ready to burſt forth. They already begin to aſk, with vehemence, Is this the return we ought to expect from Colonies, whom with parental indulgence we have cheriſhed in infancy, protected in youth, and reared to manhood? Have we ſpent in their cauſe ſo much treaſure, and have they the ingratitude to refuſe to bear a ſmall portion of our burdens? Have we ſpilt ſo much of the blood of their enemies, and do they repay us by imbruing their hands in our own? The law of God and of Nature is on the ſide of an indulgent Parent, againſt an undutiful Child; and ſhould neceſſary correction render him incapable of future offence, he has only his own obſtinacy and folly to blame.

An ACCOUNT *of* MONEY *Voted for the* FORCES *employed in the Defence of* AMERICA *since the* ACCESSION *of the* FAMILY *of* HANOVER; *distinguishing each Year.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1714 —	39,478	11	0	1745 —	97,739	5	5
1715 —	34,742	14	2	1746 —	97,038	7	11
1716 —	34,837	17	10½	1747 —	97,038	7	11
1717 —	34,742	14	2	1748 —	97,277	2	6
1718 —	40,283	15	11	1649 —	63,002	17	1
1719 —	37,325	2	1	1750 —	81,059	14	2
1720 —	37,423	1	10½	1751 —	81,059	14	2
1721 —	40,396	9	7	1752 —	78,838	18	7
1722 —	40,396	9	7	1753 —	81,059	14	2
1723 —	40,396	9	7	1754 —	81,059	14	2
1724 —	40,502	17	8	1755 —	81,059	14	2
1725 —	40,396	9	7	1756 —	142,813	15	7½
1726 —	40,396	9	7	1757 —	249,854	1	3
1727 —	40,396	9	7	1758 —	449,594	4	7
1728 —	40,502	17	8	1759 —	445,013	9	7
1729 —	40,396	9	7	1760 —	482,797	8	6½
1730 —	40,396	9	7	1761 —	583,892	18	9
1731 —	40,396	9	7	1762 —	615,845	12	11
1732 —	40,502	17	8	1763 —	310,317	0	8
1733 —	40,396	9	7	1764 —	252,093	15	11½
1734 —	41,041	6	3	1765 —	268,054	19	9½
1735 —	52,754	15	5	1766 —	268,565	19	9½
1736 —	52,895	0	8	1767 —	279,668	1	5½
1737 —	52,754	15	5	1768 —	270,666	2	6½
1738 —	63,026	9	7	1769 —	269,615	2	3½
1739 —	65,106	19	7	1770 —	259,662	12	7½
1740 —	73,469	11	10½	1771 —	259,909	3	1½
1741 —	72,723	18	9	1772 —	263,660	5	6½
1742 —	74,027	8	9	1773 —	269,196	17	8½
1743 —	73,827	8	9	1774 —	247,324	5	2½
1744 —	81,595	19	8	1775 —	247,506	15	2½
	1,487,340	0	7½		7,437,236	1	7

The

The Sums granted for the extraordinary Expences of the Army, Forts, Ordnance Stores, Tranſports, Carriages, Proviſions, are ſo much diſperſed through the Accounts of the various Offices, that it was found very difficult, if not impoſſible, to extract the particulars. The general Eſtimate is ——	8,779,925	3	11¼
The ſame obſervation may be made with regard to the Navy. The Expences of the Ships employed in North America, are ſo much blended with the other Expences of the Navy, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate them. At the moſt moderate Computation, they may be eſtimated at ——	10,000,000	0	0
Money laid out in Indian Preſents, in holding Congreſſes, and in purchaſing ceſſions of land, may be eſtimated at ——	610,000	0	0

An Account of Bounties on American *Commodities.*

	£.	s.	d.
Bounty on Indico from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain	145,022	3	4¼
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772 —	5,560	8	7¼
Bounty on Importation of Naval Stores from America, purſuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, from 1706 to 1729 -	430,178	4	6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774 ——	1,028,584	7	3
	1,609,345	3	9¼

Beſides

Beſides other Bounties granted on
Raw Silk,
Pipe Staves
Hogſhead Staves
Barrel Staves
Pipe, Hogſhead, or Barrel-Heading
Total of Money laid out by Great Britain on the Revolted Provinces, ſince the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover —— 34,697,142 10 10½

ACTS *eſtabliſhing the* SUPREMACY *of* PARLIAMENT *over* AMERICA.

1. By 12 Ch. II. ch 18, anno 1660. Tobacco not to be tranſported from America, except to England or Plantations belonging to his Majeſty, under the penalty of forfeiting ſhip and goods, &c.

2. By 15 Ch. II. No European goods to be imported into any of the Plantations, except on Engliſh-built ſhips, whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the men are Engliſh.——Duty laid on ſea-coals ſent to the Plantations, by the 10th ſection of ſaid Act. By 22 and 23 Ch. II. Plantation goods not to be carried to Ireland, and penalties inflicted for unloading them, otherwiſe than in England.

3. By 25th Ch. II. The exportation of Plantation commodities farther reſtrained.

4. By 13 and 14 Ch II. ſec. 12. Same reſtraints extend to Molaſſes and Rice.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. ſec. 16. An act for preventing Frauds, and regulating the Plantation-trade.—Section 15 prohibits any body, claiming lands by Charter or Letters-patent on the Continent of America, from ſelling their property to any perſon, otherwiſe than natural-born ſubjects of England, Ireland, Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, without the conſent of his Majeſty, heirs, and ſucceſſors.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. ſec. 6. Officers of Cuſtoms to have the ſame power in America, as in England.—Sec. 9 directs, that all By-laws and Cuſtoms in America contrary

contrary to ſaid Act, or any other Act to be made in England, ſhall be void.

8. Geo. I. ch. 15. ſec. 24. Furs required to be brought from the Plantations to Great Britain.

5 G. II. ch. 7. Lands in the Plantations made liable to the payment of Debts.

5 G. II. ch. 22. Hats not to be exported from one Plantation to another.

13 Geo. II ch. 7. Naturalizing all Foreigners, even Jews, who ſhall reſide ſeven years in the Colonies.

ACTS *complained of by the* AMERICANS. IN *Mr.* GRENVILLE'*s Adminiſtration.*

4 G. III. ch. 34. Paper Bills in the Plantations declared void.

UNDER *the Adminiſtration of Lord* ROCKINGHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

6 Geo. III. ch. 2. The Declaratory Act of the Supremacy of Great Britain.

7 G. III. ch. 41. Cuſtoms and Duties in the Britiſh Colonies put under the management of the Commiſſioners reſiding there.

UNDER *the Adminiſtration of Lord* CHATHAM, *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

7 Geo. III. ch. 59. Suſpending all proceedings of the Council of New York, till proviſion be made for the Britiſh troops.

8 Geo. III. ch. 22. Act for more eaſy recovery of Penalties inflicted by the Acts relating to Trade, and the Revenues in the Plantations.

ACTS *of* PARLIAMENT *for impoſing Taxe, on* America

12 Ch. II. ch. 4. Tonnage and Poundage extended to all his Majeſty's Dominions, without exception.

25 Ch.

25 Ch II. ch. 7. ſec. 2. If Bonds are not given to land the goods imported from America, in England, &c. then ſeveral duties to be impoſed, collected under the direction of the Officers of the Cuſtoms in England.

9 Ann. ch. 10.—Poſt-Office.

9 Ann. ch. 27. Lays a duty on Prize goods carried to America.

3 Geo. II. ch. 28. ſec. 25. The Half Subſidy to be paid on Rice from Carolina to Cape Finiſterre—— 8 Geo. II. ch. 19. The ſame extended to Georgia, and continued down by ſubſequent Acts.

6 Geo. II. ch. 13. Upon the Importation of Rum, Sugar, and Molaſſes into America, ſeveral duties to be paid.

ACTS *complained of by the* AMERICANS. IN *Mr.* GRENVILLE'*s Adminiſtration.*

4 Geo. III. ch. 15. Certain Rates and Duties on foreign goods imported into the Colonies.

5 Geo. III. Poſtage of Letters.

IN *the Adminiſtration of Lord* ROCKINGHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

6 Geo. III. ch. 52. Alterations made in the Act of the 4th of Geo. III.

IN *the Adminiſtration of Lord* CHATHAM *and the Duke of* GRAFTON.

7 Geo. III. ch. 46. Duties laid on the importation of certain goods imported into the Colonies.

UNDER *Lord* NORTH'*s Adminiſtration.*

10 Geo. III. The above Act repealed, except as to Tea.

A DE-

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA, NOW MET IN GENERAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA,

SETTING FORTH THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THEIR TAKING UP ARMS.

IF it were poſſible for men who exerciſe their reaſon to believe, that the Divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully reſiſtible, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe Colonies might at leaſt require from the Parliament of Great Britain ſome evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that Government was inſtituted

ſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtered for the attainment of that end. The Legiſlature of Great Britain, however, ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for a power not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom, and deſperate of ſucceſs in any mode of conteſt, where regard ſhould be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deſerting thoſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal from reaſon to arms.——Yet, however blinded that Aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo to ſlight juſtice and the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound by obligations of reſpect to the reſt of the world, to make known the juſtice of our cauſe.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the iſland of Great Britain, left their native land, to ſeek on theſe ſhores a reſidence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the leaſt charge to the country from which they removed, by unceaſing labour, and an unconquerable ſpirit, they effected ſettlements in the diſtant and inhoſpitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, veſted with perfect legiſlatures, were formed under Charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a ſhort time ſo extraordinary, as to excite aſtoniſhment. It is univerſally confeſſed, that the amazing increaſe of the wealth, ſtrength, and navigation of the realm aroſe from this ſource; and the Miniſter who ſo wiſely and ſucceſsfully directed the meaſures of Great Britain in the late

late war, publicly declared, that theſe Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.——Towards the concluſion of that war it pleaſed our Sovereign to make a change in his Councils.—From that fatal moment the affairs of the Britiſh Empire began to fall into confuſion, and gradually ſliding from the ſummit of glorious proſperity, to which they had been advanced, by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length diſtracted by the convulſions that now ſhake it to its deepeſt foundation. The new Miniſtry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

Theſe devoted Colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate, as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour from the beginning of Coloniza-tion, their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful ſervices dur-ing the war, though ſo recently and amply acknowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his Majeſty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not ſave them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and aſſuming a new power over them, have, in the courſe of eleven years, given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquieſcence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, though we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to diſpoſe of our own property. Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable privilege of trial by Jury in caſes af-

fecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, eſtabliſhed by charter, and ſecured by Acts of its own Legiſlature ſolemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the "Murderers" of Coloniſts from legal trial, and, in effect, from puniſhment; for erecting in a neighbouring Province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a deſpotiſm dangerous to our very exiſtence; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the Coloniſts in time of profound peace. It has alſo been reſolved in Parliament, that Coloniſts charged with committing certain offences, ſhall be tranſported to England to be tried.

But why ſhould we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one Statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all caſes whatſoever." What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited a power? Not a ſingle man of thoſe who aſſume it, is choſen by us, or is ſubject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of ſuch laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is raiſed, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increaſe ours. We ſaw the miſery to which ſuch deſpotiſm would reduce us. We for ten years inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged the Throne as ſupplicants; we reaſoned, we remonſtrated with Parliament in the moſt mild and decent language. But Adminiſtration, ſenſible that we ſhould regard theſe oppreſſive meaſures as freemen ought to do, ſent over fleets and armies to enforce them.—The indignation of the Americans was rouſed, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congreſs of Dele-

gates

gates from the United Colonies was aſſembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of laſt September. We reſolved again to offer an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, and alſo addreſſed our fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain. We have purſued every temperate, every reſpectful meaſure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourſe with our fellow-ſubjects, as the laſt peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth ſhould ſupplant our attachment to liberty.—This we flattered ourſelves was the ultimate ſtep of the controverſy; but the ſubſequent events have ſhewn, how vain is this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expreſſions againſt the Colonies were inſerted in his Majeſty's Speech. Our Petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to receive it graciouſly, and to promiſe laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houſes amongſt a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their Addreſs, in the month of February, ſaid, That "a rebellion at that time actually exiſted within the Province of Maſſachuſett's Bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the other Colonies; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legiſlature" Soon after the commercial intercourſe of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an Act of Parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were entirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſuſtenance; and large re-

inforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage.

Fruitleſs were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illuſtrious band of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay, or even to mitigate the heedleſs fury with which theſe accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the City of London, of Briſtol, and many other reſpectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an inſidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to eſtabliſh a perpetual auction of taxations, where Colony ſhould bid againſt Colony, all of them uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown ſums that ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if poſſible to gratify, Miniſterial rapacity, with the miſerable indulgence left to us of raiſing in our own mode the preſcribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorſeleſs victors to conquered enemies? In our circumſtances, to accept them would be to deſerve them.

Soon after the intelligence of theſe proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who in the courſe of the laſt year had taken poſſeſſion of the town of Boſton, in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and ſtill occupied it as a garriſon, on the 19th day of April ſent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked aſſault on the inhabitants of the ſaid province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of perſons, ſome of whom were officers and ſoldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they ſet upon another party of the

the inhabitants of the ſame Province, killing ſeveral, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people ſuddenly aſſembled to repel this cruel aggreſſion. Hoſtilities thus commenced by the Britiſh troops, have been ſince proſecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boſton being confined within that town by the General their Governour, and having, in order to procure their diſmiſſion, entered into a treaty with him, it was ſtipulated, that the ſaid inhabitants, having depoſited their arms with their own Magiſtrates, ſhould have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even ſavage nations eſteem ſacred, the Governour ordered the arms depoſited as aforeſaid, that they might be preſerved for their owners, to be ſeized by a body of ſoldiers; detained the greateſt part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their moſt valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are ſeparated from their huſbands, children from their parents, the aged and ſick from their relations and friends, who wiſh to attend and comfort them; and thoſe who have been uſed to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable diſtreſs.

The General, further emulating his Miniſterial maſters, by a proclamation, bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the groſſeſt falſehoods and calumnies againſt the good people of theſe Colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or deſcription, to be rebels and traitors, to ſuperſede the courſe of the common law, and inſtead thereof to publiſh and order the uſe and exerciſe of the law-martial."——His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles-Town,

beſides a conſiderable number of houſes in other places; our ſhips and veſſels are ſeized; the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmoſt power to ſpread deſtruction and devaſtation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is inſtigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reaſon to apprehend, that ſchemes have been formed to excite domeſtic enemies againſt us. In brief, a part of theſe Colonies now feels, and all of them are ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of Adminiſtration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of irritated Miniſters, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cauſe is juſt: our union is perfect: our internal reſources are great, and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as ſignal inſtances of Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this ſevere controverſy, until we were grown up to our preſent ſtrength, had been previouſly exerciſed in warlike operations, and poſſeſſed of the means of defending ourſelves. With hearts fortified with theſe animating reflections, we moſt

moſt ſolemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmoſt energy of thoſe powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciouſly beſtowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to aſſume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmneſs and perſeverance, employ for the preſervation of our liberties, being with one mind reſolved to die freemen rather than to live ſlaves.

Leſt this Declaration ſhould diſquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-ſubjects in any part of the empire, we aſſure them, that we mean not to diſſolve that union which has ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between us, and which we ſincerely wiſh to ſee reſtored. Neceſſity has not yet driven us into that deſperate meaſure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war againſt them. We have not raiſed armies with ambitious deſigns of ſeparating from Great Britain, and eſtabliſhing independent ſtates. We fight not for glory or for conqueſt. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable ſpectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even ſuſpicion of offence. They boaſt of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than ſervitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired ſolely by the honeſt induſtry of our forefathers and ourſelves, againſt violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We ſhall lay them down when hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of the aggreſſors, and all danger of their being renewed ſhall be removed,—and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and Impartial Judge and Ruler of the Univerſe, we moſt devoutly implore his divine goodneſs

to

to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to diſpoſe our adverſaries to reconciliation on reaſonable terms, and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT,

Atteſted,

CHARLES THOMPSON, SECRETARY.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

Since

A P P E N

An ACCOUNT of what SUMS have been GRANTED to the different PROV
ESTIMATES for the SUPPORT of the CIVIL GOVERNMENT of each PRO
have been GRANTED for the SUPPORT of the PROVINCIAL FORCES in N

Years.	NEW-YORK. Forces.			CAROLINA. Not distinguished whether North or South.			GEORGIA. Settling and Securing			GEORGIA. Military.			SOUTH CAROLINA.			NOVA-SCO Civil Govern	
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.
1716	7,112	12	0														
1717	7,093	3	4														
1718	7,141	16	8														
1719	7,141	16	8														
1720	7,161	8	0														
1721	7,141	16	8														
1722	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1723	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1724	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9½											
1725	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1726	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1727	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1728	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9½											
1729	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1730	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1731	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1732	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9½											
1733	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1734	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6											
1735	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6	26,000	0	0								
1736	7,161	8	0	———			10,000	0	0	3,079	15	9½					
1737	7,141	16	8	———			20,000	0	0	3,071	17	6					
1738	7,141	16	8	———			8,000	0	0								
1739	7,141	16	8	———			20,000	0	0								
1740	7,161	8	0	———			4,000	0	0								
1741	7,141	16	8	———			10,000	0	0								
1742	7,141	16	8	———			———			———			———			———	
1743	7,141	16	8	———			12,000	0	0	2,445	10	0					
1744	7,161	8	0	———			———			87,724	2	2					
1745	7,141	16	8	———			———			26,406	12	11					
1746	7,141	16	8	———			4,000	0	0	2,445	10	0	5,830	17	6		
1747	7,141	16	8	———			———			2,445	10	0	5,830	17	6		
1748	7,161	8	0	———			———			2,445	10	0	5,846	17	0	———	
1749	7,141	16	8	———			5,304	3	4	———			5,830	17	6		
1750	7,141	16	8	———			5,304	3	4	———			5,830	17	6	76,255	3
1751	7,141	16	8	———			———			———			5,830	17	6	111,510	13
1752	6,946	3	4	———			4,000	0	0	———			5,671	2	6	61,493	0
1753	7,141	16	8	———			2,000	0	0	———			5,830	17	6	94,615	12
1754	7,141	16	8	———			18,128	19	1¾	———			5,830	17	6	58,447	2
1755	7,141	16	8	———			2,957	10	0	———			5,830	17	6	40,418	7
1756	7,161	8	0	———			3,557	10	0	———			5,846	17	0	55,720	1
1757	7,141	16	8	———			30,000	0	0	———			5,830	17	6	44,170	9
1758	7,141	16	8	———			3,557	10	0	———			5,830	17	6	16,528	12
1759	7,141	16	8	———			4,057	10	0	———			5,867	7	6	21,181	3
1760	7,161	8	0	———			4,057	10	0	———			5,883	9	0	17,636	11
1761	7,141	16	8	———			4,057	10	0	———			5,867	7	6	10,595	12
1762	7,141	16	8	———			4,057	10	0	———			5,867	7	6	5,864	1
1763	2,367	11	4	———			4,136	0	0	———			1,945	1	6	10,263	15
1764	———			———			4,031	8	8	———			———			5,703	14
1765	———			———			3,966	0	0	———			———			11,911	14
1766	———			———			3,986	0	0	———			———			12,874	16
1767	———			———			3,986	0	0	———			———			5,557	11
1768	———			———			3,986	0	0	———			———			3,895	1
1769	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			4,375	17
1770	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			4,239	0
1771	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			5,796	10
1772	———			———			3,186	0	0	———			———			5,346	10
1773	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			5,146	10
1774	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			4,346	10
1775	———			———			3,086	0	0	———			———			4,346	10
	337,955	7	8	43,024	9	10½	250,813	3	9¾	130,064	8	4½	111,104	4	6	695,220	17

I N D E X.

PROVINCES in NORTH-AMERICA, as far as appears from the PROVINCE, distinguishing each Year. And also of what SUMS in NORTH-AMERICA.

A-SCOTIA. Government.			EAST-FLORIDA. Civil Government.			WEST-FLORIDA. Civil Government.			AMERICA. Forces.			AMERICA. Rewards and Compensations.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
									65,607	6	8			
												235,749	2	10½
,255	3	0												
,510	13	7½												
,493	0	4½												
,615	12	4												
,447	2	0												
,418	7	8							49,468	5	0			
,720	1	7										120,000	0	0
,170	9	1										50,000	0	0
,528	12	11										41,117	17	6½
,181	3	5										200,000	0	0
,636	11	7							35,744	8	4	202,977	7	8
,595	12	9							22,179	0	0	200,000	0	0
,864	1	10										133,333	6	8
,263	15	9¼										133,333	6	8
,703	14	11	5,700	0	0	5,700	0	0						
,911	14	11	5,200	0	0	5,200	0	0						
,874	16	0	5,250	0	0	5,300	0	0						
,557	11	5	4,750	0	0	4,800	0	0						
,895	1	11	4,750	0	0	4,400	0	0						
,375	17	11	4,750	0	0	4,800	0	0						
,239	0	5	4,750	0	0	4,800	0	0						
,796	10	5	4,350	0	0	6,100	0	0						
,346	10	5	4,950	0	0	5,650	0	0						
,146	10	5	4,950	0	0	7,274	13	6						
,346	10	5	4,950	0	0	4,850	0	0						
,346	10	5	4,950	0	0	5,450	0	0						
,220	17	6¼	59,300	0	0	64,324	13	6	172,999	0	0	1,316,511	1	5

Since the firſt Publication of the preceding Pamphlet, the following Articles came to the hands of the Author. If any additional proof was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the juſtneſs of his obſervations on the REAL DESIGNS of the Americans, he apprehends it is furniſhed by this paper. The Reader is requeſted to compare the concluding Article, with the late ſpeeches of a certain "Illuſtrious Band," in both Houſes of Parliament.

ARTICLES of CONFEDERATION and PERPETUAL UNION, entered into by the DELEGATES of the ſeveral Colonies of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETT'S, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. in General Congreſs met at PHILADELPHIA, May 10th, 1775.

ARTICLE I.

THE name of this Confederacy ſhall henceforth be, *The United Colonies of North America.*

II.

The United Colonies hereby ſeverally enter into a firm League of Friendſhip with each other, binding on them-

themſelves and their poſterity, for their common defence againſt their enemies, for the ſecurity of their liberties, and properties, the ſafety of their perſons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III.

That each Colony ſhall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own preſent laws, cuſtoms, rights, privileges, and peculiar juriſdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own conſtitution, as ſhall ſeem beſt to its own Aſſembly or Convention.

IV.

That for the more convenient management of general intereſts, Delegates ſhall be elected annually in each Colony, to meet in General Congreſs, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be agreed on in the next preceding Congreſs. Only where particular circumſtances do not make a deviation neceſſary, it is underſtood to be a rule, That each ſucceeding Congreſs is to be held in a different Colony, till the whole number be gone through, and ſo in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly, the next Congreſs after the preſent ſhall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V.

That the power and duty of the Congreſs ſhall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the ſettling all diſputes between Colony and Colony, if any ſhould ariſe, and the planting new Colonies where proper. The Congreſs ſhall alſo make ſuch general ordinances thought neceſſary to the general welfare, of which particular aſſemblies cannot be competent, viz. thoſe that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the eſtabliſhment of poſts, the regulation of our common forces: the Congreſs ſhall alſo have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the General Confederacy, ſuch as General Treaſurer, Secretary, &c. &c. &c.

VI.

VI.

All charges of wars, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, ſhall be defrayed out of a common treaſury, which is to be ſupplied by each Colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age: the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each Colony.

VII.

The number of Delegates to be elected, and ſent to the Congreſs by each Colony, ſhall be regulated, from time to time, by the number of ſuch polls returned; ſo as that one Delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the Delegates are to bring with them to every Congreſs, an authenticated return of the number of polls in their reſpective Colonies, which is to be taken for the purpoſes above-mentioned.

VIII.

At every meeting of the Congreſs, one half of the Members returned, excluſive of Proxies, ſhall be neceſſary to make a quorum; and each Delegate at the Congreſs ſhall have a vote in all caſes; and, if neceſſarily abſent, ſhall be allowed to appoint any other Delegate from the ſame Colony to be his Proxy, who may vote for him.

IX.

An Executive Council ſhall be appointed by the Congreſs out of their own body, conſiſting of 12 perſons, of whom, in the firſt appointment, one third, viz. four, ſhall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and, as the ſaid terms expire, the vacancies ſhall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one-third of the Members will be changed annually; and each perſon who has ſerved the ſame term of three years as Counſellor, ſhall have a reſpite of three years, before he can be elected again. This Council, of whom two-thirds ſhall be a quorum, in the receſs of the Congreſs, is to execute what ſhall have been enjoined thereby; to manage the General Continental

nental buſineſs and intereſts, to receive applications from foreign countries, to prepare matters for the conſideration of the Congreſs, to fill up, *pro tempore*, Continental Offices that fall vacant, and to draw on the General Treaſurer for ſuch monies as may be neceſſary for general ſervices, and appropriated by the Congreſs to ſuch ſervices.

X.

No Colony ſhall engage in an offenſive war with any nation of Indians, without the conſent of the Congreſs, or great Council above-mentioned, who are firſt to conſider the juſtice and neceſſity of ſuch war.

XI.

A perpetual alliance offenſive and defenſive is to be entered into, as ſoon as may, with the Six Nations; their limits aſcertained, and to be ſecured to them; their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or Colony purchaſe to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great Council of the Indians at Onondega and the General Congreſs. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians ſhall alſo be aſcertained and ſecured to them in the ſame manner; and perſons appointed to reſide among them in proper Diſtricts, who ſhall take care to prevent injuſtice in the trade with them; and be enabled at our General expence, by occaſional ſmall ſupplies, to relieve their perſonal wants and diſtreſſes, and all purchaſes from them ſhall be by the Congreſs, for the general advantage and benefit of the United Colonies.

XII.

As all new inſtitutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can diſcover, it is agreed, that the General Congreſs, from time to time, ſhall propoſe ſuch amendments of this conſtitution as may be found neceſſary, which being approved by a majority of the Colony Aſſemblies, ſhall be equally binding with the reſt of the Articles of this Confederation.

XIII.

XIII.

Any and every Colony from Great Britain upon the Continent of North America, not at preſent engaged in our Aſſociation, may, upon application and joining the ſaid Aſſociation, be received into the Confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the Eaſt and Weſt Floridas, and ſhall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual aſſiſtance, and commerce.

Theſe Articles ſhall be propoſed to the ſeveral Provincial Conventions or Aſſemblies, to be by them conſidered; and, if approved, they are adviſed to empower their Delegates to agree and ratify the ſame in the enſuing Congreſs; after which the union thereby eſtabliſhed is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation propoſed in the Petition of the laſt Congreſs to the King are agreed to; till the Acts, ſince made, reſtraining the American commerce and fiſheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boſton by ſhutting up its ports; for burning Charleſtown, and for the expence of this unjuſt war; and till all the Britiſh troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of theſe events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendſhip with Great Britain; but on failure thereof, this Confederation is to be perpetual.

WHEREAS it hath pleaſed God to bleſs theſe Countries with a moſt plentiful harveſt, whereby much corn and other proviſions can be ſpared to foreign Nations who may want the ſame:

Reſolved, That, after the expiration of ſix months from the 20th July inſtant, being the day appointed by a late Act of Parliament of Great Britain, for reſtraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies, all Cuſtom Houſes therein (if the ſaid Act be not firſt repealed) ſhall be ſhut up, and all the officers of the ſame diſ-

charged from the execution of their ſeveral functions, and declared to be thenceforth open to the ſhips of every State in Europe that will admit our commerce and protect it; who may bring in and expoſe to ſale, free of all duties, their reſpective produce and manufactures, and every kind of merchandiſe, excepting Teas, and the merchandiſe of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands.

Reſolved, That we will, to the utmoſt of our power, maintain and ſupport this freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, any reconciliation between us and Great Britain notwithſtanding, and as much longer beyond that term as the late Acts of Parliament for reſtraining the commerce and fiſheries, and diſallowing the laws and charters of any of the Colonies, ſhall continue unrepealed.

20 JY 63